

RAMBLES

AND

RECOLLECTIONS

OF

AN INDIAN OFFICIAL.

BY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. H. SLEEMAN,

OF THE BENGAL ARMY.

"The proper study of mankind is man."

POPE

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

J. HATCHARD AND SON, 187, PICCADILLY.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY G. J. PALMER, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

DEDICATION.

My dear Sister,

Were any one to ask your countrymen in India what has been their greatest source of pleasure while there, perhaps nine in ten would say, the letters which they receive from their sisters at home. These of all things, perhaps, tend most to link our affections with home by filling the landscapes, so dear to our recollections, with ever-varying groups of the family circles, among whom our infancy and our boyhood have been passed; and among whom we still hope to spend the winter of our days.

They have a very happy facility in making us familiar with the new additions made from time to time to the *dramatis personæ* of these scenes after we quit them, in the character of husbands, wives, children, or friends; and while thus contributing so much to our happiness, they no doubt tend to make us better citizens of the world, and servants of government, than we should otherwise

be: for in our "struggles through life" in India, we have all, more or less, an eye to the approbation of those circles which our kind sisters represent—who may, therefore, be considered in the exalted light of a valuable species of *unpaid magistracy* to the government of India!

No brother has ever had a kinder or better correspondent than I have had in you, my dear sister; and it was the consciousness of having left many of your valued letters unanswered in the pressure of official duties, that made me first think of devoting a part of my leisure to you in these "*Rambles and Recollections*," while on my way from the banks of the Nerbudda river to the Himmaleh mountains, in search of health, in the end of 1835 and beginning of 1836. To what I wrote during that journey, I have now added a few notes, observations, and conversations with natives, on the subjects which my narrative seemed to embrace; and the whole will, I hope, interest and amuse you and the other members of our family; and appear, perchance, not altogether uninteresting or uninstructive to those who are strangers to us both.

Of one thing I must beg you to be assured, that I have nowhere indulged in fiction, either in the narrative, the recollections, or the conversations. What I relate, on the testimony of others, I believe to be true; and what I relate upon my own you may rely upon as being so. Had I chosen to write a work of fiction, I might possibly have made it a good deal

more interesting; but I question whether it would have been so much valued by you, or so useful to others; and these are the objects I have had in view. The work may, perhaps, tend to make the people of India better understood by those of my countrymen whose destinies are cast among them, and inspire more kindly feelings towards them. Those parts which, to the general reader, will seem dry and tedious, may be considered, by the Indian statesman, as the most useful and important.

The opportunities of observation which varied employment has given me, have been such as fall to the lot of few; but although I have endeavoured to make the most of them, the time of public servants is not their own; and that of few men has been more exclusively devoted to the service of their masters than mine. It may be, however, that the world, or that part of it which ventures to read these pages, will think that it had been better had I not been left even the little leisure that has been devoted to them.

Your ever affectionate brother,

W. H. SLEEMAN.

CONTENTS

OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

CHAPTER X.

CHAPTER XI.

CHAPTER XII.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHAPTER XV.

CHAPTER XVI.

CHAPTER XLVI.

CHAPTER XLVII.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

RAMBLES AND RECOLLECTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

ANNUAL FAIRS HELD UPON THE BANKS OF SACRED STREAMS IN INDIA.

BEFORE setting out on our journey towards the Himmalah we formed once more an agreeable party to visit the marble rocks of the Nerbudda at Beraghat. It was the end of Katick (October) when the Hindoos hold fairs on all their sacred streams, at places consecrated by poetry or tradition as the scene of some divine work or manifestation. These fairs are at once festive and holy—every person who comes enjoying himself as much as he can, and at the same time seeking purification from all past transgressions by bathing and praying in the holy stream, and making laudable resolutions to be better for the future. The ceremonies last five days, and take place at the same time upon all the sacred rivers throughout India; and the greater part of the whole Hindoo population, from the summits of the Himmalah mountains to Cape Comorin, will I believe, during these five days, be found congregated

74

at these fairs. In sailing down the Ganges one may pass, in the course of a day, half a dozen such fairs, each with a multitude equal to the population of a large city, and rendered beautifully picturesque by the magnificence and variety of the tent equipages of the great and wealthy. The preserver of the universe (Bhugwan) Vishnoo is supposed, on the 26th of Assar (June), to descend to the world below, (Putal,) to defend Raja Bull from the attacks of Indur, to stay with him four months, and to come up again on the 26th Katick (October). During his absence almost all kinds of worship and festivities are suspended; and they recommence at these fairs, where people assemble to hail his resurrection.

Our tents were pitched upon a green sward on one bank of a small stream running into the Nerbudda close by, while the multitude occupied the other bank. At night all the tents and booths are illuminated, and the scene is hardly less animating by night than by day; but what strikes an European most is the entire absence of all tumult and disorder at such places. He not only sees no disturbance, but feels assured that there will be none; and leaves his wife and children in the midst of a crowd of a hundred thousand persons all strangers to them, and all speaking a language and following a religion different from theirs, while he goes off the whole day, hunting and shooting in the distant jungles, without the slightest feeling of apprehension for

their safety or comfort. It is a singular fact which I know to be true, that during the great mutiny of our native troops at Barrackpore in 1824, the chief leaders bound themselves by a solemn oath not to suffer any European lady or child to be injured or molested, happen what might to them in the collision with their officers and the government. My friend Captain Reid, one of the general staff, used to allow his children, five in number, to go into the lines and play with the soldiers of the mutinous regiments up to the very day when the artillery opened upon them; and of above thirty European ladies then at the station, not one thought of leaving the place till they heard the guns. Mrs. Colonel Faithful, with her daughter and another young lady who had both just arrived from England, went lately all the way from Calcutta to Lodheana on the banks of the Hyphasis, a distance of more than twelve hundred miles, in their palankeens with relays of bearers, and without even a servant to attend them. They were travelling night and day for fourteen days without the slightest apprehension of injury or of insult. *Cases of ladies travelling in the same manner by* dâk immediately after their arrival from England to all parts of the country occur every day, and I know of no instance of injury or insult sustained by them. Does not this speak volumes for the character of our rule in India?—would men trust their wives and daughters in this manner unprotected, among

a people that disliked them and their rule? We have not a garrison, or walled cantonments, or fortified position of any kind for our residence from one end of our Eastern empire to the other, save at the three capitals of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. We know and feel that the people every where look up to and respect us, in spite of all our faults, and we like to let them know and feel that we have confidence in them.

Sir Thomas Munro has justly observed, "I do not exactly know what is meant by civilizing the people of India. In the theory and practice of good government they may be deficient; but if a good system of agriculture—if unrivalled manufactures—if a capacity to produce what convenience or luxury demands—if the establishment of schools for reading and writing—if the general practice of kindness and hospitality—and above all, if a scrupulous respect and delicacy towards the female sex are amongst the points that denote a civilized people; then the Hindoos are not inferior in civilization to the people of Europe." The Bishop Heber writes in the same favourable terms of the Hindoos in the narrative of his journey through India; and where shall we find a mind more capable of judging of the merits and demerits of a people than his?

The concourse of people at this fair was, as usual, immense; but a great many who could not afford to provide tents for the accommodation of their families were driven away before their time by some

heavy showers of, to them, unseasonable rains. On this, and all similar occasions, the people bathe in the Nerbudda without the aid of priests, but a number of poor Brahmans attend at these festivals to receive charity, though not to assist at the ceremonies. Those who could afford it gave a trifle to these men as they came out of the sacred stream but in no case was it demanded, or even solicited with any appearance of importunity, as it commonly is at fairs and holy places on the Ganges. The first day, the people bathe below the rapid over which the river falls after it emerges from its peaceful abode among the marble rocks; on the second day, just above this rapid; and on the third day, two miles further up at the cascade, where the whole body of the limpid stream of the Nerbudda, confined to a narrow channel of only a few yards wide, falls tumultuously down in a beautiful cascade into a deep chasm of marble rocks. This fall of their sacred stream the people call the Dhovandhar, or the smoky fall, from the thick vapour which is always seen rising from it in the morning. From below, the river glides quietly and imperceptibly for a mile and a half along a deep and, according to popular belief, a fathomless channel of from ten to fifty yards wide, with snow-white marble rocks rising perpendicularly on either side from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet high, and in some parts fearfully overhanging. Suspended in recesses of these white rocks are numerous large black nests of hor-

nets ready to descend upon any unlucky wight who may venture to disturb their repose; and as the boats of the curious European visitors pass up and down to the sound of music, clouds of wild pigeons rise from each side, and seem sometimes to fill the air above them. Here, according to native legends, repose the Pundoons, the heroes of their great Homeric poem, the Mahabhurat, whose names they have transferred to the valley of the Nerbudda. Every fantastic appearance of the rocks, caused by those great convulsions of nature which have so much disturbed the crust of the globe, or by the slow and silent working of the waters, is attributed to the godlike power of those great heroes of Indian romance, and is associated with the recollection of scenes in which they are supposed to have figured.

The strata of the Kymore range of sand-stone hills, which runs diagonally across the valley of the Nerbudda, are thrown up almost perpendicularly in some places many hundred feet above the level of the plain, while in others for many miles together their tops are only visible above the surface. These are so many strings of the oxen which the arrows of Arjun, one of the five brothers, converted into stone; and many a stream which now waters the valley first sprang from the surface of the earth at the touch of his lance, as his troops wanted water. The images of the gods of a former day, which now lie scattered among the ruins of old cities, buried in the depth of the forest, are nothing less than the

bodies of the kings of the earth turned into stone for their temerity in contending with these demi-gods in battle. Ponds among the rocks of the Nerbudda, where all the great fairs are held, still bear the names of the five brothers, who are the heroes of this great poem; and they are every year visited by hundreds of thousands, who implicitly believe that their waters once received upon their bosoms the wearied limbs of those whose names they bear. What is life without the charms of fiction, and without the leisure and recreations which these sacred imaginings tend to give to the great mass of those who have nothing but the labour of their hands to depend upon for subsistence! Let no such fictions be believed, and the holidays and pastimes of the lower orders in every country would soon cease, for they have almost every where owed their origin and support to some religious dream which has commanded the faith and influenced the conduct of great masses of mankind, and prevented one man from presuming to work on the day that another wished to rest from his labours. The people were of opinion, they told me, that the Ganges, as a sacred stream, could last only sixty years more, when the Nerbudda would take its place. The waters of the Nerbudda are, they say, already so much more sacred than those of the Ganges, that to see them is sufficient to cleanse men from their sins, whereas the Ganges must be touched before it can have that effect.

At the temple built on the top of a conical hill

hands can either imitate or hurt them!" She smiled incredulously, while he looked very grave, and appealed to the whole crowd of spectators assembled, who all testified to the truth of what he had said; and added, "that at no distant day the figures would be all restored to life again—the deities would all come back without doubt and reanimate their old bodies again!"

All the people who come to bathe at the fair bring chaplets of yellow jasmine, and hang them as offerings round the necks of the god and his consort: and at the same time they make some small offerings of rice to each of the many images that stand within the same apartment; and also to those which, under a stone roof supported upon stone pillars, line the inside of the wall that surrounds the circular area, in the centre of which the temple stands. The images inside the temple are those of the three great gods, Brihma, Vishnoo and Sewa, with their primeval consorts; but those that occupy the piazza outside are the representations of the consorts of the different *incarnations* of these three gods, and these consorts are themselves the incarnations of the primeval wives, who followed their husbands in all their earthly ramblings. They have all the female form, and are about the size of ordinary women, and extremely well cut out of fine white and green sand stone; but their heads are those of the animals in which their respective husbands became incarnate, such as the lion, the elephant,

&c., or those of the Bahuns, or animals on which they rode, such as the bull, the swan, the eagle, &c. But these, I presume, are mere *capricios* of the founder of the temple. The figures are sixty-four in number, all mounted upon their respective Bahuns, but have been sadly mutilated by the pious Mahomedans.

The old Mahunt, or high priest, told us, that Mahadeo and his wife were in reality our Adam and Eve; "they came here together," said he, "on a visit from the mountain Khylas, and being earnestly solicited to leave some memorial of their visit, got themselves turned into stone." The popular belief is, that some very holy man, who had been occupied on the top of this little conical hill, where the temple now stands, in austere devotions for some few thousand years, was at last honoured with a visit from Sewa and his consort, who asked him what they could do for him. He begged them to wait till he should bring some flowers from the woods, to make them a suitable offering. They promised to do so; and he ran down, plunged into the Nerbudda and drowned himself, in order that these august persons might for ever remain, and do honour to his residence and his name. They however left only their "mortal coil;" but will one day return and resume it. I know not whether I am singular in the notion or not, but I think Mahadeo and his consort are really our Adam and Eve; and that the people have converted them into the

god and goddess of destruction, from some vague idea of their original sin, which involved all their race in destruction. The snakes, which form the only dress of Mahadeo, would seem to confirm this notion.

Brimha, the creator, whose consort is Saraswatee; Vishnoo, the preserver, whose consort is Lukshmee; and Sewa, alias Mahadeo, the destroyer, whose consort is Parbuttee. According to popular belief, *Jumraj* is the judicial deity who has been appointed by the greater powers to pass the final judgment on the tenor of men's lives, according to proceedings drawn up by his secretary *Chuttergopat*. If men's actions have been good, their souls are, as the next stage, advanced a step towards the great essence Brimh; and if bad, they are thrown back, and obliged to occupy the bodies of brutes or of people of inferior caste, as the balance against them may be great or small. There is an intermediate stage, a *Naruk* or hell, for bad men, and a Bykout, or paradise, for the good, in which they find their felicity in serving that god of the three to which they have especially devoted themselves while on earth. But from this stage after the period of their sentence is expired, men go back to their pilgrimage on earth again.

There are numerous Deos, or good spirits, of whom Indur is the chief; and Dyts, or bad spirits; and there have also been a great number of incarnations from the three great gods and their consorts, who have made their appearance upon the earth when

once. Immense numbers of wealthy men go every year from the most distant parts of India to die at Benares, where they spend large sums of money among the Brahmans. It is by their means that this, the second city in India, is supported.

just cause of alarm to the Brahman priests who were then in the infancy of their despotic power.

During the war with Nepaul in 1814 and 1815, the division with which I served came upon an extremely interesting colony of about two thousand christian families at Beteeah, in the Tirhoot district on the borders of the Turac forest. This colony had been created by one man, the Bishop, a Venetian by birth, under the protection of a small Hindoo prince, the Rajah of Beteeah. This holy man had been some fifty years among these people, with little or no support from Europe or from any other quarter. The only aid he got from the Rajah was a pledge that no member of his church should be subject to the *Purveyance system*, under which the people every where suffered so much; and this pledge, the Rajah, though a Hindoo, had never suffered to be violated. There were men of all trades among them, and they formed one very large street remarkable for the superior style of its buildings, and the sober industry of its inhabitants. The masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths of this little colony were working in our camp every day, while we remained in the vicinity, and better workmen I have never seen in India; but they would all insist upon going to divine service at the prescribed hours. They had built a splendid pucka dwelling house for their bishop, and a still more splendid church, and formed for him the finest garden I have seen in India, surrounded with a good wall, and

provided with admirable pucka wells. The native Christian servants who attended at the old bishop's table, taught by himself, spoke Latin to him; but he was become very feeble, and spoke himself a mixture of Latin, Italian, his native tongue, and Hindoostanee. We used to have him at our messes, and take as much care of him as of an infant, for he was become almost as frail as one. The joy and the excitement of being once more among Europeans, and treated by them with so much reverence in the midst of his flock, were perhaps too much for him, for he sickened and died soon after.

The rajah died soon after him, and in all probability the flock has disappeared. No Europeans except a few Indigo planters of the neighbourhood had ever before known or heard of this colony; and they seemed to consider them only as a set of great scoundrels, who had better carts and bullocks than anybody else in the country which they refused to let out at the same rate as the others, and which they (the indigo lords) were not permitted to seize and employ *at discretion.* Roman Catholics have a greater facility in making converts in India than Protestants, from having so much more in their form of worship to win the affections through the medium of the imagination.

CHAPTER III.

LEGEND OF THE NERBUDDA RIVER.

The legend is, that the Nerbudda which flows west into the gulf of Cambay was wooed and won in the usual way by the Sohun river, which rises from the same table land of Omurkuntuk, and flows east into the Ganges and Bay of Bengal. All the previous ceremonies having been performed, the Sohun came with due "pomp and circumstance" to fetch his bride, in the procession called the *Burract*, up to which time the bride and bridegroom are supposed never to have seen each other, unless perchance they may have met in infancy. Her majesty the Nerbudda became exceedingly impatient to know what sort of a personage her destinies were to be linked to, while his majesty the Sohun advanced at a slow and stately pace. At last the Queen sent Jhola, the daughter of the barber, to take a close view of him, and to return and make a faithful and particular report of his person.

His majesty was captivated with the little Jhola, the barber's daughter, at first sight; and she "*nothing loath*," yielded to his caresses. Some say that she actually pretended to be Queen herself; and that his majesty was no further in fault, than in mistaking the humble handmaid for her noble mistress; but, be that as it may, her majesty no sooner heard of the good understanding between them, than she rushed forward, and with one foot sent the Sohun rolling back to the east whence he came, and with the other kicked little Jhola sprawling after him: for, said the high priest, who told us the story, "you see what a towering passion she was likely to have been in under such indignities, from the furious manner in which she cuts her way through the marble rocks beneath us, and casts huge masses right and left as she goes along, as if they were really so many cocoanuts!" "And was she," asked I, "to have flown eastward with him, or was he to have flown westward with her?" "She was to have accompanied him eastward," said the high priest; "but her majesty, after this indignity, declared, that she would not go a single pace in the same direction with such wretches, and would flow west, though all the other rivers in India might flow east: and west she flows accordingly a virgin queen!" I asked some of the Hindoos about us why they called her *Mother Nerbudda*, if she was really never married. "Her majesty," said they with great respect, "would really never consent to

be married after the indignity she suffered from her affianced bridegroom the Sohun; and we call her mother because she blesses us all, and we are anxious to accost her by the name which we consider to be at once the most respectful and endearing." Any Englishman can easily conceive a poet in his highest "calenture of the brain," addressing the ocean as "a steed that knows his rider," and patting the crested billow as his flowing mane: but he must come to India to understand how every individual of a whole community of many millions can address a fine river as a living being—a sovereign princess, who hears and understands all they say, and exercises a kind of local superintendence over their affairs, without a single temple in which her image is worshipped, or a single priest to profit by the delusion. As in the case of the Ganges, it is the river itself to whom they address themselves, and not to any deity residing in it, or presiding over it—the stream itself is the deity which fills their imaginations, and receives their homage.

Among the Romans and ancient Persians rivers were propitiated by sacrifices. When Vitellius crossed the Euphrates with the Roman legions to put Tiridates on the throne of Armenia, they propitiated *the river* according to the rites of their country by the *suovetaurilia*, the sacrifice of the hog, the ram, and the bull. Tiridates did the same by the sacrifice of a horse. Tacitus does not mention the river *god*, but the river *itself*, as propitiated.

See b. vi. chap. 37. Plato makes Socrates condemn Homer for making Achilles behave disrespectfully towards the river Xanthus, though acknowledged to be a divinity, in offering to fight him; and towards the river Sperchius, another acknowledged god, in presenting to the dead body of Patroclus the locks of his hair which he had promised to that river.

The Sohun river, which rises near the source of the Nerbudda on the table land of Omurkuntuk, takes a westerly course for some miles, and then turns off suddenly to the east, and is joined by the little stream of the Jhola before it descends the great cascade; and hence the poets have created this fiction, which the mass of the population receive as divine revelation. The statue of little Jhola, the barber's daughter, in stone, stands in the temple of the goddess Nerbudda at Omurkuntuk, bound in chains. It may here be remarked, that the first overtures of marriage in India must always be made through the medium of the *Barber*, whether they be from the prince or the peasant. If a sovereign prince sends proposals to a sovereign princess, they must be conveyed through the medium of the *Barber*, or they will never be considered as done in due form, or as likely to prove propitious. The prince will, of course, send some relation or high functionary with him; but in all the credentials the Barber must be named as the principal functionary. Hence it was that her majesty was supposed to have sent a Barber's daughter to meet her husband.

The Mahatum (greatness or holiness) of the

Ganges is said, as I have already stated, to be on the wane, and not likely to endure sixty years longer; while that of the Nerbudda is on the increase, and in sixty years is entirely to supersede the sanctity of her sister. If the valley of the Nerbudda should continue for sixty years longer under such a government as it has enjoyed since we took possession of it in 1817, it may become infinitely more rich, more populous, and more beautiful than that of the Nile ever was; and if the Hindoos there continue, as I hope they will, to acquire wealth and honour under a rule to which they are so much attached, the prophecy may be realized in as far as the increase of honour paid to the Nerbudda is concerned. But I know no ground to expect that the revenue paid to the Ganges will diminish, unless education and the concentration of capital in manufactures should work an important change in the religious feelings and opinions of the people along the course of that river; although this, it must be admitted, is a consummation which may be looked for more speedily on the banks of the Ganges than on those of a stream like the Nerbudda, which is neither navigable at present, nor in my opinion capable of being rendered so. Commerce and manufactures, and the concentration of capital in the maintenance of the new communities employed in them, will, I think, be the great media through which this change will be chiefly effected; and they are always more likely to follow the course of rivers that are navigable than that of rivers which are not.

CHAPTER IV.

A SUTTEE ON THE NERBUDDA.

We took a ride one evening to Gopalpore, a small village situated on the same bank of the Nerbudda, about three miles up from Beraghat. On our way we met a party of women and girls coming to the fair. Their legs were uncovered half way up the thigh; but as we passed, they all carefully covered up their faces. "Good God," exclaimed one of the ladies, "how can these people be so very indecent!" *They* thought it, no doubt, equally extraordinary, that she should have her face uncovered, while she so carefully concealed her legs; for they were really all modest peasantry, going from the village to bathe in the holy stream. Here there are some very pretty temples built for the most part to the memory of widows who have burned themselves with the remains of their husbands, and upon the very spot where they committed themselves to the flames. There was one which had been recently raised over

the ashes of one of the most extraordinary old ladies that I have ever seen, who burned herself in my presence in 1829. I prohibited the building of any temple upon the spot, but my successor in the civil charge of the district, Major Low, was never, I believe, made acquainted with the prohibition nor with the progress of the work; which therefore went on to completion during my absence. As suttees are now prohibited in our dominions, and cannot be often seen or described by Europeans, I shall here relate the circumstances of this as they were recorded by me at the time; and the reader may rely upon the truth of the whole tale.

On the 29th November, 1829, this old woman, then about sixty-five years of age, here mixed her ashes with those of her husband, who had been burned alone four days before. On receiving civil charge of the district (Jubbulpore) in March, 1828, I issued a proclamation prohibiting any one from aiding or assisting in suttee; and distinctly stating, that to bring one ounce of wood for the purpose would be considered as so doing. If the woman burned herself with the body of her husband, any one who brought wood for the purpose of burning *him*, would become liable to punishment; consequently the body of the husband must be first consumed, and the widow must bring a fresh supply for herself. On Tuesday, 24th November, 1829, I had an application from the heads of the most respectable and most extensive family of Brahmans in the district, to suffer this old

widow to burn herself with the remains of her husband, Omed Sing Opuddea, who had that morning died upon the banks of the Nerbudda. I threatened to enforce my order, and punish severely any man who assisted; and placed a police guard for the purpose of seeing that no one did so. She remained sitting by the edge of the water without eating or drinking. The next day the body of her husband was burned to ashes in a small pit of about eight feet square, and three or four feet deep, before several thousand spectators who had assembled to see the suttee. All strangers dispersed before evening, as there seemed to be no prospect of my yielding to the urgent solicitations of her family, who dared not touch food till she had burned herself, or declared herself willing to return to them. Her sons, grandsons, and some other relations, remained with her, while the rest surrounded my house, the one urging me to allow her to burn, and the other urging her to desist. She remained sitting upon a bare rock in the bed of the Nerbudda, refusing every kind of sustenance, and exposed to the intense heat of the sun by day, and the severe cold of the night, with only a thin sheet thrown over her shoulders. On Thursday, to cut off all hope of her being moved from her purpose, she put on the *Dhujja*, or coarse red turban, and broke her bracelets in pieces, by which she became dead in law, and for ever excluded from caste. Should she choose to live after this, she could never return to her family. Her

children and grandchildren were still with her, but all their entreaties were unavailing; and I became satisfied, that she would starve herself to death if not allowed to burn, by which the family would be disgraced, her miseries prolonged, and I myself rendered liable to be charged with a wanton abuse of authority, for no prohibition of the kind I had issued had as yet received the formal sanction of the government.

On Saturday the 28th, in the morning, I rode out ten miles to the spot, and found the poor old widow sitting with the dhujja round her head, a brass plate before her with undressed rice and flowers, and a cocoa-nut in each hand. She talked very collectedly, telling me, that "she had determined to mix her ashes with those of her departed husband, and should patiently wait my permission to do so, assured that God would enable her to sustain life till that was given, though she dared not eat or drink." Looking at the sun, then rising before her over a long and beautiful reach of the Nerbudda river, she said calmly, "My soul has been for five days with my husband's near that sun—nothing but my earthly frame is left; and this I know you will in time suffer to be mixed with the ashes of his in yonder pit, because it is not in your nature or your usage wantonly to prolong the miseries of a poor old woman." "Indeed it is not,—my object and my duty is to save and preserve them; and I am come to dissuade you from this idle purpose—to urge you to live, and to keep your family from the disgrace of being thought your murderers."

"I am not afraid of their ever being so thought —they have all, like good children, done everything in their power to induce me to live among them; and if I had done so, I know they would have loved and honoured me; but my duties to them have now ended. I commit them all to your care, and I go to attend my husband, *Omed Sing Opuddea*, with whose ashes on the funeral pile mine have been already three times mixed."

This was the first time in her long life that she had ever pronounced the name of her husband, for in India no woman high or low ever pronounces the name of her husband—she would consider it disrespectful towards him to do so; and it is often amusing to see their embarrassment when asked the question by any European gentleman. They look right and left for some one to relieve them from the dilemma of appearing disrespectful either to the querist, or to their absent husbands—they perceive that he is unacquainted with their duties on this point, and are afraid he will attribute their silence to disrespect. They know that few European gentlemen are acquainted with them; and when women go into our courts of justice, or other places where they are liable to be asked the names of their husbands, they commonly take one of their children or some other relation with them to pronounce the words in their stead. When the old lady named her husband, as she did with strong emphasis, and in a very deliberate manner, every one present was satisfied that she

children and grandchildren were still with her, but all their entreaties were unavailing; and I became satisfied, that she would starve herself to death if not allowed to burn, by which the family would be disgraced, her miseries prolonged, and I myself rendered liable to be charged with a wanton abuse of authority, for no prohibition of the kind I had issued had as yet received the formal sanction of the government.

On Saturday the 28th, in the morning, I rode out ten miles to the spot, and found the poor old widow sitting with the dhujja round her head, a brass plate before her with undressed rice and flowers, and a cocoa-nut in each hand. She talked very collectedly, telling me, that "she had determined to mix her ashes with those of her departed husband, and should patiently wait my permission to do so, assured that God would enable her to sustain life till that was given, though she dared not eat or drink." Looking at the sun, then rising before her over a long and beautiful reach of the Nerbudda river, she said calmly, "My soul has been for five days with my husband's near that sun—nothing but my earthly frame is left; and this I know you will in time suffer to be mixed with the ashes of his in yonder pit, because it is not in your nature or your usage wantonly to prolong the miseries of a poor old woman." "Indeed it is not,—my object and my duty is to save and preserve them; and I am come to dissuade you from this idle purpose—to urge you to live, and to keep your family from the disgrace of being thought your murderers."

"I am not afraid of their ever being so thought—they have all, like good children, done everything in their power to induce me to live among them; and if I had done so, I know they would have loved and honoured me; but my duties to them have now ended. I commit them all to your care, and I go to attend my husband, *Omed Sing Opuddea*, with whose ashes on the funeral pile mine have been already three times mixed."

This was the first time in her long life that she had ever pronounced the name of her husband, for in India no woman high or low ever pronounces the name of her husband—she would consider it disrespectful towards him to do so; and it is often amusing to see their embarrassment when asked the question by any European gentleman. They look right and left for some one to relieve them from the dilemma of appearing disrespectful either to the querist, or to their absent husband—they perceive that he is unacquainted with their duties on this point, and are afraid he will attribute their silence to disrespect. They know that few European gentlemen are acquainted with them; and when women go into our courts of justice, or other places where they are liable to be asked the names of their husbands, they commonly take one of their children or some other relation with them to pronounce the words in their stead. When the old lady named her husband, as she did with strong emphasis, and in a very deliberate manner, every one present was satisfied that she

had resolved to die. "I have," she continued, "tasted largely of the bounty of government, having been maintained by it with all my large family in ease and comfort upon our rent-free lands; and I feel assured that my children will not be suffered to want: but with them I have nothing more to do, our intercourse and communion here end. My soul (prau) is with *Omed Sing Opuddea;* and my ashes must here mix with his." Again looking to the sun —"I see them together," said she, with a tone and countenance that affected me a good deal, "under the bridal canopy!"—alluding to the ceremonies of marriage; and I am satisfied, that she at that moment really believed that she saw her own spirit and that of her husband under the bridal canopy in paradise.

I tried to work upon her pride and her fears. I told her that it was probable that the rent-free lands by which her family had been so long supported might be resumed by the government, as a mark of its displeasure against the children for not dissuading her from the sacrifice—that the temples over her ancestors upon the bank might be levelled with the ground, in order to prevent their operating to induce others to make similar sacrifices; and lastly, that not one single brick or stone should ever mark the place where she died, if she persisted in her resolution. But if she consented to live, a splendid habitation should be built for her among these temples—a handsome provision assigned for her support out of

these rent-free lands—her children should come daily to visit her, and I should frequently do the same. She smiled, but held out her arm, and said —"My pulse has long ceased to beat—my spirit has departed—and I have nothing left but a little *earth* that I wish to mix with the ashes of my husband—I shall suffer nothing in burning; and if you wish proof, order some fire, and you shall see this arm consumed without giving me any pain." I did not attempt to feel her pulse, but some of my people did, and declared that it had ceased to be perceptible. At this time every native present believed that she was incapable of suffering pain; and her end confirmed them in their opinion.

Satisfied myself that it would be unavailing to attempt to save her life, I sent for all the principal members of the family, and consented that she should be suffered to burn herself if they would enter into engagements that no other member of their family should ever do the same. This they all agreed to, and the papers having been drawn out in due form about mid-day, I sent down notice to the old lady, who seemed extremely pleased and thankful. The ceremonies of bathing were gone through before three, while the wood and other combustible materials for a strong fire were collected, and put into the pit. After bathing, she called for a pawn (betel leaf) and ate it, then rose up, and with one arm on the shoulder of her eldest son, and the other on that of her nephew, ap-

proached the fire. I had sentries placed all round, and no other person was allowed to approach within five paces. As she rose up, fire was set to the pile, and it was instantly in a blaze. The distance was about one hundred and fifty yards—she came on with a calm and cheerful countenance—stopped once, and casting her eyes upward said—"Why have they kept me five days from thee, my husband!" On coming to the sentries her supporters stopped—she walked once round the pit, paused a moment; and while muttering a prayer threw some flowers into the fire. She then walked up deliberately and steadily to the brink, stepped into the centre of the flame, sat down, and leaning back in the midst as if reposing upon a couch, was consumed without uttering a shriek or betraying one sign of agony! A few instruments of music had been provided, and they played as usual as she approached the fire, not as is commonly supposed, in order to drown screams, but to prevent the last words of the victim from being heard, as these are supposed to be prophetic and might become sources of pain or strife to th living. It was not expected that I should yield, a but few people had assembled to witness the sac fice, so that there was little or nothing in the c cumstances immediately around to stimulate to any extraordinary exertions; and I am persua that it was the desire of again being united to husband in the next world, and the entire confi that she would be so if she now burned h

that alone sustained her. From the morning of the day he died, Tuesday, till Wednesday evening, she ate pawns or betel leaves, but nothing else: and from Wednesday evening she ceased eating them. She drank no water from Tuesday. She went into the fire with the same cloth about her that she had worn in the bed of the river; but it was made wet, from a persuasion, that even the shadow of any impure thing falling upon her when going to the pile contaminates the woman, unless counteracted by the sheet moistened in the holy stream. I must do the family the justice to say, that they all exerted themselves to dissuade the widow from her purpose; and had she lived, she would assuredly have been cherished and honoured as the first female member of the whole house. There is no people in the world among whom parents are more loved, honoured, and obeyed, than among the Hindoos; and the grandmother is always more honoured than the mother. No queen upon her throne could ever have been approached with more reverence by her subjects than was this old lady by all the members of her family as she sat upon a naked rock in the bed of the river, with only a red rag upon her head, and a single white sheet over her shoulders! Soon after the battle of Trafalgar I heard a young lady exclaim, "I could really wish to have had a brother killed in that action." There is no doubt that a family in which a suttee takes place feels a good deal exalted in its own esteem and that of the

community by the sacrifice. The sister of the Rajah of Rewa was one of four or five wives who burned themselves with the remains of the Rajah of Oodeepore; and nothing in the course of his life will ever be recollected by her brother with so much of pride and pleasure, since the Oodeepore Rajah is the head of the Rajpoot tribes.

I asked the old lady when she had first resolved upon becoming a suttee, and she told me, that about thirteen years before, while bathing in the river Nerbudda, near the spot where she then sat, with many other females of the family, the resolution had fixed itself in her mind as she looked at the splendid temples on the bank of the river, erected by the different branches of the family over the ashes of her female relations, who had at different times become suttees. Two, I think, were over her aunts, and one over the mother of her husband. They were very beautiful buildings, and had been erected at great cost and kept in good repair. She told me that she had never mentioned this her resolution to any one from that time, nor breathed a syllable on the subject till she called out *suth, suth, suth!* when her husband breathed his last with his head in her lap on the bank of the Nerbudda, to which he had been taken when no hopes remained of his surviving the fever of which he died.

The following conversation took place one morning between me and a native gentleman at Jubbulpore soon after suttees had been prohibited by government.

"What are the castes among whom women are not permitted to re-marry after the death of their husbands?"

"They are, sir, Brahmans, Rajpoots, Buneeas (shopkeepers), Kaets (writers)."

"Why not permit them to marry now that they are no longer permitted to burn themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands?"

"The knowledge that they cannot unite themselves to a second husband without degradation from caste, tends strongly to secure their fidelity to the first, sir. Besides, if all widows were permitted to marry again, what distinction would remain between us and people of lower caste? We should all soon sink to a level with the lowest!"

"And so you are content to keep up your caste at the expense of the poor widows?"

"No: they are themselves as proud of the distinction as their husbands are."

"And would they, do you think, like to have the good old custom of burning themselves restored?"

"Some of them would, no doubt."

"Why?"

"Because they become re-united to their husbands in paradise, and are there happy, free from all the troubles of this life."

"But you should not let them have any troubles as widows."

"If they behave well, they are the most honoured members of their deceased husband's families; no-

thing in such families is ever done without consulting them, because all are proud to have the memory of their lost fathers, sons, and brothers so honoured by their widows. But women feel that they are frail; and would often rather burn themselves at once than be exposed all their lives to temptation and suspicion."

"And why do not the men burn themselves to avoid the troubles of life?"

"Because they are not called to it from Heaven, as the women are."

"And you think that the women were really called to be burned by the Deity?"

"No doubt: we all believe that they were called and supported by the Deity; and that no tender beings like women could otherwise voluntarily undergo such tortures—they become inspired with supernatural powers of courage and fortitude! When Dhoolee Sookul, the Sehora banker's father, died, the wife of a *Lodhee* cultivator of the town declared, all at once, that she had been a suttee with him six times before; and that she would now go into paradise with him a seventh time. Nothing could dissuade her from burning herself. She was between fifty and sixty years of age; and had grandchildren; and all her family tried to persuade her that it must be a mistake, but all in vain. She became a suttee, and was burnt the day after the body of the banker!"

"Did not Dhoolee Sookul's family, who were

Brahmans, try to dissuade her from it, she being a Lodhee, a very low caste?"

"They did; but they said all things were possible with God; and it was generally believed, that this was a call from heaven."

"And what became of the banker's widow?"

"She said that she felt no divine call to the flames. This was thirty years ago; and the banker was about thirty years of age when he died."

"Then he will have rather an old wife in paradise?"

"No, sir; after they pass through the flames upon earth, both become young in paradise."

"Sometimes women used to burn themselves with any relict of a husband who had died far from home, did they not?"

"Yes, sir, I remember a fisherman, about twenty years ago, who went on some business to Banares from Jubbulpore, and who was to have been back in two months. Six months passed away without any news of him; and at last the wife dreamed that he had died on the road, and began forthwith, in the middle of the night, to call out *Sut, Sut, Sut!* Nothing could dissuade her from burning; and in the morning a pile was raised for her, on the north bank of the large tank of Hoonooman, where you have planted an avenue of trees. There I saw her burned with her husband's turban in her arms—and in ten days after, her husband came back!"

"Now the burning has been prohibited, a man cannot get rid of a bad wife so easily?"

"But she was a good wife, sir, and bad ones do not often become suttees."

"Who made the pile for her?"

"Some of her family, but I forget who; they thought it must have been a call from heaven, when, in reality, it was only a dream."

"You are a Rajpoot?"

"Yes."

"Do Rajpoots, in this part of India, now destroy their female infants?"

"Never: that practice has ceased everywhere in these parts; and is growing into disuse in Bundelcund, where the Rajahs, at the request of the British government, have prohibited it among their subjects. This was a measure of real good. You see girls now at play in villages, where the face of one was never seen before, nor the voice of one heard."

"But still those who have them grumble, and say that the government which caused them to be preserved should undertake to provide for their marriage. Is it not so?"

"At first they grumbled a little, sir; but as the infants grew upon their affections, they thought no more about it."

Goorchurn Baboo, the principal of the little Jubbulpore College, called upon me one forenoon, soon after this conversation. He was educated in the Calcutta College; speaks and writes English exceedingly well; is tolerably well read in English literature, and is decidedly a *thinking man.* After talking over

the matter which caused his visit, I told him of the Lodhee woman's burning herself with the Brahman banker at Sehora; and asked him what he thought of it.

He said, "That in all probability this woman had *really* been the wife of the Brahman in some former birth—of which transposition a singular case had occurred in his own family. His great-grandfather had three wives, who all burnt themselves with his body. While they were burning, a large *serpent* came up, and ascending the pile, was burnt with them. Soon after, another came up, and did the same! They were seen by the whole multitude, who were satisfied that they had been the wives of his great grandfather in a former birth, and would become so again after this sacrifice. When the Suradh, or funeral obsequies, were performed after the prescribed intervals, the offerings and prayers were regularly made for *six souls* instead of four; and to this day every member of his family, and every Hindoo who had heard the story, believed that these two serpents had a just right to be considered as among his ancestors, and to be prayed for accordingly in all Suradh!"

A few days after this conversation with the principal of the Jubbulpore College, I had a visit from Bholee Sookul, the present head of the Sehora banker's family, and youngest brother of the Brahman with whose ashes the Lodhee woman burned herself. I requested him to tell me all that he recollected

about this singular suttee, and he did so as follows;—

"When my eldest brother, the father of the late Dhoolee Sookul, who was so long a native collector under you in this district, died about twenty years ago at Sehora, a Lodhee woman, who resided two miles distant in the village of Khittolee, which has been held by our family for several generations, declared that she would burn herself with him on the funeral pile; that she had been his wife in three different births, had already burnt herself with him three times, and had to burn with him four times more. She was then sixty years of age, and had a husband living about the same age. We were all astounded when she came forward with this story; and told her that it must be a mistake, as we were Brahmans, while she was a Lodhee. She said that there was no mistake in the matter; that she, in the last birth, resided with my brother in the sacred city of Banares, and one day gave a holy man who came to ask charity, salt, by mistake, instead of sugar with his food. That, in consequence, he told her she should, in the next birth, be separated from her husband, and be of inferior caste; but that, if she did her duty well in that state, she should be reunited to him in the following birth. We told her that all this must be a dream; and the widow of my brother insisted that if she were not allowed to burn herself, the other should not be allowed to take her place. We prevented the

widow from ascending the pile, and she died at a good old age only two years ago at Sehora. My brother's body was burned at Sehora, and the poor Lodhee woman came and stole one handful of the ashes which she placed in her bosom, and took back with her to Khittolee. There she prevailed upon her husband and his brother to assist her in her return to her former husband and caste as a Brahman. No soul else would assist them, as we got the then native chief to prohibit it; and these three persons brought on their own heads the pile on which she seated herself with the ashes in her bosom. The husband and his brother set fire to the pile, and she was burned."

"And what is now your opinion, after a lapse of twenty years?"

"Why, that she had really been the wife of my brother; for at the pile she prophesied that my nephew Dhoolee should be, what his grandfather had been, high in the service of the government; and, as you know, he soon after became so."

"And what did your father think?"

"He was so satisfied that she had been the wife of his eldest son in a former birth, that he defrayed all the expenses of her funeral ceremonies; and had them all observed with as much magnificence as those of any member of the family. Her tomb is still to be seen at Khittolee, and that of my brother at Sehora."

I went to look at these tombs with Bholee Sookul

himself some short time after this conversation; and found that all the people of the town of Sehora and village of Khittolee really believed, that the old Lodhee woman had been his brother's wife in a former birth, and had now burned herself as his widow for the fourth time. Her tomb is at Khittolee, and his at Sehora.

CHAPTER V.

MARRIAGES OF TREES—THE TANK AND THE PLAINTAIN—METEORS—RAINBOWS.

Before quitting Jubbulpore, to which place I thought it very unlikely that I should ever return, I went to visit the groves in the vicinity, which, at the time I held the civil charge of the district in 1828, had been planted by different native gentlemen upon lands assigned to them rent free for the purpose, on condition that the holder should bind himself to plant trees at the rate of twenty-five to the acre, and keep them up at that rate—and that for each grove, however small, he should build and keep in repair a well lined with masonry for watering the trees, and for the benefit of travellers.* Some of these groves had already begun to yield fruit, and all had been

* In planting mango groves, it is a rule that they shall be as far from each other, as not to admit of their branches ever meeting. "Plant trees; but let them not touch." "*Aum lugow—nais lugee nuheen,*" is the maxim.

married. Among the Hindoos, neither the man who plants a grove nor his wife can taste of the fruit till he has *married* one of the mango trees to some other tree (commonly the tamarind tree) that grows near it in the same grove. The proprietor of one of these groves that stands between the cantonment and the town, old Berjore Sing, had spent so much in planting and watering the grove, and building walls and wells of pucka masonry, that he could not afford to defray the expense of the marriage ceremonies till one of the trees, which was older than the rest when planted, began to bear fruit in 1833; and poor old Berjore Sing and his old wife were in great distress, that they dared not taste of the fruit whose flavour was much praised by their children. They began to think that they had neglected a serious duty, and might, in consequence, be taken off before another season could come round. They therefore sold all their silver and gold ornaments, and borrowed all they could; and before the next season the grove was married with all due pomp and ceremony, to the great delight of the old pair, who tasted of the fruit in June 1834.

The larger the number of Brahmans that are fed on the occasion of the marriage, the greater the glory of the proprietor of the grove; and when I asked old Berjore Sing, during my visit to his grove, how many he had feasted, he said, with a heavy sigh, that he had been able to feast only one hundred and fifty. He showed me the mango tree which had

acted the part of the bridegroom on the occasion; but the bride had disappeared from his side. "And where is the bride, the tamarind?" "The only tamarind I had in the grove died," said the old man, "before we could bring about the wedding; and I was obliged to get a jasmine for a wife for my mango. I planted it here, so that we might, as required, cover both bride and bridegroom under one canopy during the ceremonies; but after the marriage was over, the gardener neglected her, and she pined away and died." "And what made you prefer the jasmine to all other trees after the tamarind?" "Because it is the most celebrated of all trees save the rose." "And why not have chosen the rose for a wife?" "Because no one ever heard of a marriage between the rose and the mango; while they take place every day between the mango and the chumbaelee (jasmine)."

After returning from the groves, I had a visit after breakfast from a learned Mahomedan, now guardian to the young Rajah of Oocheyrah, who resides part of his time at Jubbulpore. I mentioned my visit to the groves, and the curious notion of the Hindoos regarding the necessity of marrying them; and he told me, that among Hindoos, the man who went to the expense of making a *tank*, dared not drink of its waters till he had *married* his tank to some banana tree, planted on the bank for the purpose.

"But what," said he, with a smile, "could you expect from men who believe that Indur is the god

married. Among the Hindoos, neither the man who plants a grove nor his wife can taste of the fruit till he has *married* one of the mango trees to some other tree (commonly the tamarind tree) that grows near it in the same grove. The proprietor of one of these groves that stands between the cantonment and the town, old Berjore Sing, had spent so much in planting and watering the grove, and building walls and wells of pucka masonry, that he could not afford to defray the expense of the marriage ceremonies till one of the trees, which was older than the rest when planted, began to bear fruit in 1833; and poor old Berjore Sing and his old wife were in great distress, that they dared not taste of the fruit whose flavour was much praised by their children. They began to think that they had neglected a serious duty, and might, in consequence, be taken off before another season could come round. They therefore sold all their silver and gold ornaments, and borrowed all they could; and before the next season the grove was married with all due pomp and ceremony, to the great delight of the old pair, who tasted of the fruit in June 1834.

The larger the number of Brahmans that are fed on the occasion of the marriage, the greater the glory of the proprietor of the grove; and when I asked old Berjore Sing, during my visit to his grove, how many he had feasted, he said, with a heavy sigh, that he had been able to feast only one hundred and fifty. He showed me the mango tree which had

acted the part of the bridegroom on the occasion; but the bride had disappeared from his side. "And where is the bride, the tamarind?" "The only tamarind I had in the grove died," said the old man, "before we could bring about the wedding; and I was obliged to get a jasmine for a wife for my mango. I planted it here, so that we might, as required, cover both bride and bridegroom under one canopy during the ceremonies; but after the marriage was over, the gardener neglected her, and she pined away and died." "And what made you prefer the jasmine to all other trees after the tamarind?" "Because it is the most celebrated of all trees save the rose." "And why not have chosen the rose for a wife?" "Because no one ever heard of a marriage between the rose and the mango; while they take place every day between the mango and the chumbaelee (jasmine)."

After returning from the groves, I had a visit after breakfast from a learned Mahomedan, now guardian to the young Rajah of Oocheyrah, who resides part of his time at Jubbulpore. I mentioned my visit to the groves, and the curious notion of the Hindoos regarding the necessity of marrying them; and he told me, that among Hindoos, the man who went to the expense of making a *tank*, dared not drink of its waters till he had *married* his tank to some banana tree, planted on the bank for the purpose.

"But what," said he, with a smile, "could you expect from men who believe that Indur is the god

who rules the heavens immediately over the earth; that he sleeps during eight months in the year, and during the other four his time is divided between his duties of sending down rain upon the earth, and repelling with his arrows *Rajah Bull*, who by his austere devotions (Tupascea) has received from the higher gods a promise of the reversion of his dominions. The lightning which we see," said the learned Moulavee, "they believe to be nothing more than the glittering of these arrows, as they are shot from the bow of Indur upon his foe Rajah Bull."*

"But, my good friend, Moulavee Sahib, there are many good Mahomedans who believe that the meteors, which we call shooting stars, are in reality stars which the guardian angels of man snatch from the spheres, and throw at the devil as they see him passing through the air, or hiding himself under one or other of the constellations. Is it not so?"

"Yes, it is; but we have the authority of the holy prophet for this, as delivered down to us by his companions, in the sacred traditions; and we are bound to believe it. When our holy prophet came upon the earth, he found it to be infested with a host

* There is a sublime passage in the Psalms of David, where the lightning is said to be the arrows of God.—*Psalm* lxxvii.

"The clouds poured out water: the skies sent out a sound: thine arrows also went abroad.
The voice of thy thunder was in the heavens: the lightnings lightened the world: the earth trembled and shook."

of magicians, who, by their abominable rites and incantations, get into their interests certain devils, or demons, whom they used to send up to heaven, to listen to the orders which the angels received *from* God, *regarding* men and the world below. On hearing these orders they came off, and reported them to the magicians, who were thereby enabled to foretel the events which the angels were ordered to bring about. In this manner they often overheard the orders which the *angel Gabriel* received from God; and communicated them to the magicians as soon as he could deliver them to our holy prophet. Exulting in the knowledge obtained in this *diabolical* manner, these wretches tried to turn his prophecies into ridicule; and seeing the evil effects of such practices among men, he prayed to God to put a stop to them. From that time guardian angels have been stationed in different parts of the heavens, to keep off the devils; and as soon as one of them sees a devil sneaking too near the heaven of heavens, he snatches the nearest star, and flings it at him." This, he added, was what all true Mahomedans believed regarding the shooting of stars. He had read nothing about them in the works of Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, or Galen, all of which he had carefully studied; and should be glad to learn from me what modern philosophers in Europe thought about them.

I explained to him the supposed distance and bulk of the fixed stars, visible to the naked eye;

their being radiant with unborrowed light, and probably every one of them, like our own sun, the great centre of a solar system of its own; embracing the vast orbits of numerous planets, revolving around it with their attendant satellites—the stars visible to the naked eye being but a very small portion of the whole which the telescope had now made distinctly visible to us; and those distinctly visible being one cluster among many thousand with which the genius of Galileo, Newton, the Herschells, and many other modern philosophers had discovered the heavens to be studded I remarked, that the notion that these mighty suns, the centres of planetary systems, should be made merely to be thrown at devils and demons, appeared to us just as unaccountable as those of the Hindoos regarding Indur's arrows.

"But," said he, "these foolish Hindoos believe still greater absurdities. They believe that the rainbow is nothing more than the *fume of a large snake*, concealed under the ground; that he vomits forth this fume from a hole in the surface of the earth, without being himself seen; and when you ask them, why, in that case, the rainbow should be in the west while the sun is in the east, and in the east while the sun is in the west, they know not what to say."*

* Nine Hindoos out of ten, or perhaps ninety-nine in a hundred, throughout India, believe the rainbow to arise from the breath of the snake, thrown up from the surface of the earth, as water is thrown up by whales from the surface of the ocean.

"The truth is, my friend, Moulavee Sahib, the Hindoos, like a very great part of every other nation, are very much disposed to attribute to supernatural influences effects that the wiser portion of our species know to rise from natural causes."

The Moulavee was right. In the Mishcatol Masabeh, the authentic traditions of their prophet, it is stated, that Æsha, (the widow of Mahomed,) said, "I heard his majesty say, the angels come down to the regions next the world, and mention the works that have been pre-ordained in heaven; when the devils, who descend to the lowest regions, listen to the words, and hearing the orders predestined in heaven, carry them to fortune-tellers, who found upon them a hundred lies of their own."

Abu Abas states: "*One of the holy prophet's* friends informed me, that while he was sitting *one* night with his majesty, in company with several other friends, a very bright star shot. 'What,' demanded the prophet, 'did you say in *the days of ignorance*, when a star shot like this?' They replied, 'God and his messenger know best; but we used to say, that a great man was born to-night, or a great man died.'* 'There,' said his majesty,

* In Sparta, the Ephori, once every nine years, watched the sky during a whole cloudless, moonless night, in profound silence; and if they saw a shooting star, it was understood to indicate that the kings of Sparta had discharged the gods, and their authority was in consequence suspended till they had been purified by an oracle from Delphi or Olympia.

'you mistake—the shootings of these stars are neither for the life nor the death of great persons. When our *cherisher* orders a work, the bearers of the imperial throne sing hallelujahs, and the inhabitants of the nearer regions repeat it, till it reaches the lowest regions. After that the angels, which are near the bearers of the imperial throne, say, "What did your cherisher order?" Then they are informed; and so it is handed from one region to another, till the information reaches the people of the lowest. Then the devils steal it, and carry it to their friends the magicians; and the stars are thrown at these devils, and not for the birth or death of any person. Thus the things which the magicians tell, having heard them from the devils, are true; but they add lies of their own, and exaggerate everything they hear.'

The prophet declared, "God has created stars for three uses; one of them as a cause of ornament of the regions; the second, to pelt the devils with; the third, to direct people going through forests and on the sea. Therefore, whoever shall explain them otherwise does wrong, and loses his time, and speaks from his own invention, and embellishes."

Ibu Abas. "The prophet said, whoever attains to the knowledge of astrology, for any other explanation than the three afore-mentioned, then verily he has attained to a branch of magic. An astrologer is a magician, and a magician is a *necromancer*, and a necromancer is an infidel!" (Book i. chap. 3; book

xxi. chap. 3. Mishcatol Masabeh, or the Camp of the Companions of the Prophet.) This work contains the precepts and sayings of Mahomed, as declared by his companions, who themselves heard them; or by those who heard them immediately from those companions; and they are considered to be binding upon the faith and conduct of Mussulmans, though not all delivered from inspiration. Everything that is written in the Koran itself, is supposed to have been brought direct from God by the angel Gabriel.*

* But the prying character of these devils is described in the Koran itself. According to Mahomedans they had access to all the seven heavens, till the time of Moses, who got them excluded from three; Christ got them excluded from three more; and Mahomed managed to get them excluded from the seventh and last! "We have placed the twelve signs in the heavens, and *have set them out in various figures* for the observation of spectators, and we guard them from every devil driven away with stones; except him who listeneth by stealth, at whom a visible flame is darted."—Chap. xv. "We have adorned the lower heaven with the ornament of stars, and we have placed therein a guard against every rebellious devil, that they may not listen to the discourse of exalted princes, for they are darted at from every side, to repel them, and a lasting torment is prepared for them; except him who catcheth a word by stealth, and is pursued by a shining flame."—Chap xxxvii.

CHAPTER VI.

HINDOO MARRIAGES.

CERTAIN it is that no Hindoo will have a marriage in his family during the four months of the rainy season; for among eighty millions of souls, not one doubts that the Great Preserver of the universe is, during these four months, down on a visit to Rajah Bull, and, consequently, unable to bless the contract with his presence. Marriage is a sacred duty among Hindoos, a duty which every parent must perform for his children, otherwise they owe him no reverence. A family, with a daughter unmarried after the age of puberty, is considered to labour under the displeasure of the gods; and no member of the other sex considers himself *respectable*, after the age of puberty, till he is married. It is the duty of his parent or elder brothers to have him suitably married; and if they do not do so, he reproaches them with his *degraded condition*. The same feeling, in a less degree, pervades all the

Mahomedan community; and nothing appears so strange to them as the apparent indifference of old bachelors among us to their *sad condition!* Marriage, with all its ceremonies, its rights and its duties, fills their imagination from infancy to age; and I do not believe there is a country upon earth in which a larger portion of the wealth of the community is spent in the ceremonies, or where the rights are better secured, or the duties better enforced, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of the laws of polygamy. Not one man in ten can afford to maintain more than one wife, and not one in ten of those who can afford it will venture "*upon a sea of troubles*," in taking a second, if he has a child by the first. One of the evils which press most upon Indian society, is the necessity which long usage has established of squandering large sums in marriage ceremonies. Instead of giving what they can to their children to establish them, and enable them to provide for their families, and rise in the world, parents everywhere feel bound to squander all they have, and all they can borrow, in the festivities of their marriage. Men in India could never feel secure of being permitted freely to enjoy their property under despotic and unsettled governments, the only kind of governments they knew or hoped for; and much of the means, that would otherwise have been laid out in forming substantial works, with a view to a return in income of some sort or another, for the remainder of their own lives, and for those

of their children, were expended in tombs, temples, suraes, tanks, groves, and other works, useful and ornamental, no doubt, but from which neither they nor their children could ever hope to derive income of any kind. The same feeling of insecurity gave birth, no doubt, to this preposterous usage, which tends so much to keep down the great mass of the people of India to that grade in which they were born, and in which they have nothing but their manual labour to depend upon for their subsistence. Every man feels himself bound to waste all his stock and capital, and exhaust all his credit, in feeding idlers during the ceremonies which attend the marriage of his children, because his ancestors squandered similar sums, and he would sink in the estimation of society if he were to allow his children to be married with less.

But it could not have been solely because men could not invest their means in profitable works, with any chance of being long permitted to enjoy the profits under such despotic and unsettled governments, that they squandered them in feeding idle people in marriage ceremonies; since temples, tanks, and groves secured esteem in this life, and promised some advantage in the next, and an outlay in such works might therefore have been preferred. But under such governments a man's title even to the exclusive possession of his wife, might not be considered as altogether secure under the mere sanction of religion; and the outlay in feeding the family, tribe, and neighbourhood, during the marriage ceremony,

seems to have been considered as a kind of *value in exchange* given for her to society. There is nothing that she and her husband recollect through life with so much pride and pleasure as the cost of their marriage, if it happen to be large for their condition in life—it is their *Amoku*, their title of nobility; and their parents consider it their duty to make it as large as they can. A man would hardly feel secure of the sympathy of his family, tribe, circle of society, or rulers, for the loss of "his ox, or his ass, or anything that is his," if it should happen to have cost him nothing; and till he could feel secure of their sympathy for the loss, he would not feel very secure in the possession. He, therefore, or those who are interested in his welfare, strengthen his security by an outlay which invests his wife with *a tangible value in cost*, well understood by his circle and rulers. His family, tribe, and circle, have received the purchase money, and feel bound to secure to him the *commodity* purchased; and as they are in all such matters commonly much stronger than the rulers themselves, the money spent among them is more efficacious in securing the exclusive enjoyment of the wife, than if it had been paid in taxes or fees to them for a marriage licence. The pride of families and tribes, and the desire of the multitude to participate in the enjoyment of such ceremonies, tend to keep up this usage after the cause in which it originated may have ceased to operate; but it will, it is to be hoped, gradually decline with the

increased feeling of security to person, property, and character, under our rule. Nothing is now more common than to see an individual in the humblest rank spending all that he has, or can borrow, in the marriage of one of many daughters, and trusting to Providence for the means of marrying the others; nor in the higher, to find a young man, whose estates have, during a long minority, under the careful management of government officers, been freed from very heavy debts, with which an improvident father had left them encumbered, the moment he attains his majority, and enters upon the management, borrowing three times their annual rent, at an exorbitant interest, to marry a couple of sisters, at the same rate of outlay, in feasts and fireworks, that his grandmother was married with.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PURVEYANCE SYSTEM.

We left Jubbulpore on the morning of the 20th November, 1835, and came on ten miles to Bughoree. Several of our friends of the 29th native infantry accompanied us this first stage, where they had a good day's shooting. In 1830, I established here some venders in wood, to save the people from the miseries of the purveyance system; but I now found that a native collector, soon after I had resigned the civil charge of the district and gone to Saugor, in order to ingratiate himself with the officers, and get from them favourable testimonials, gave two regiments, as they marched over this road, free permission to help themselves gratis out of the store-rooms of these poor men, whom I had set up with a loan from the public treasury, declaring that it must be the wish and intention of government to supply their public officers free of cost; and consequently that no excuses could be attended to. From that time shops and shopkeepers have disappeared. Wood for all public officers and establishments

passing this road has ever since, as in former times, been collected from the surrounding villages gratis, under the *purveyance* system, in which all native public officers delight; and which I am afraid is encouraged by European officers, either from their ignorance or their indolence. They do not like the trouble of seeing the men paid either for their wood or their labour; and their head servants of the kitchen or the wardrobe weary and worry them out of their best resolutions on the subject. They make the poor men sit aloof by telling them, that their master is a tiger before breakfast, and will eat them if they approach: and they tell their masters, that there is no getting the poor men to come for their money till they have bathed or taken their breakfast. The latter wait in hopes that the gentleman will come out or send for them as soon as he has been *tamed* by his breakfast; but this meal has put him in good humour with all the world, and he is now no longer unwilling to trust the payment of the poor men to his butler, or his valet de chambre. They keep the poor wretches waiting, declaring that they have as yet received no orders to pay them, till, hungry and weary, in the afternoon they all walk back to their homes in utter despair of getting anything. If, in the mean time, the gentleman comes out and finds the men, his servants pacify him by declaring, either that they have not yet had time to carry his orders into effect—that they could not get copper change for silver rupees—or that they were

anxious to collect all the people together before they paid any, lest they might pay some of them twice over. It is seldom, however, that he comes among them at all; he takes it for granted that the people have all been paid; and passes the charge in the account of his servants, who all get what these porters ought to have received. Or, perhaps the gentleman may persuade himself, that if he pays his valet or butler, these functionaries will never pay the poor men; and think that he had better sit quiet and keep the money in his own pocket. The native police or revenue officer is directed by his superior to have wood collected for the camp of a regiment or great civil officers—and he sends out his myrmidons to employ the people around in felling trees, and cutting up wood enough to supply not only the camp, but his own cook-rooms and those of his friends for the next six months. The men so employed commonly get nothing; but the native officer receives credit for all manner of superlatively good qualities, which are enumerated in a certificate. Many a fine tree, dear to the affections of families and village communities, has been cut down in spite, or redeemed from the axe by a handsome present to this officer or to his myrmidons. Lambs, kids, fowls, milk, vegetables, all come flowing in for the great man's table from poor people, who are too hopeless to seek for payment, or who are represented as too proud and wealthy to receive it. Such always have been and such always will be some of the evils of the purveyance system. If a

police officer receives an order from the magistrate to provide a regiment, detachment, or individual with boats, carts, bullocks, or porters, he has all that can be found within his jurisdiction forthwith seized —releases all those whose proprietors are able and willing to pay what he demands, and furnishes the rest, which are generally the worst, to the persons who require them. Police officers derive so much profit from these applications, that they are always anxious they should be made; and will privately defeat all attempts of private individuals to provide themselves, by dissuading or intimidating the proprietors of vehicles from voluntarily furnishing them. The gentleman's servant who is sent to procure them, returns and tells his master, that there are plenty of vehicles, but that their proprietors dare not send them without orders from the police; and that the police tell him they dare not give such orders without the special sanction of the magistrate. The magistrate is written to; but declares that his police have been prohibited from interfering in such matters without special orders, since the proprietors ought to be permitted to send their vehicles to whom they choose, except on occasions of great public emergency; and as the present cannot be considered as one of these occasions, he does not feel authorized to issue such orders. On the Ganges, many men have made large fortunes by pretending a general authority to seize boats for the use of the commissariat or for other government purposes, on the ground of

having been once or twice employed on that duty; and what they get is but a very small portion of that which the public lose. One of these self-constituted functionaries has a boat seized on its way down or up the river; and the crew, who are merely hired for the occasion, and have a month's wages in advance, seeing no prospect of getting soon out of the hands of this pretended government servant, desert, and leave the boat on the sands; while the owner, if he ever learn the real state of the case, thinks it better to put up with his loss than to seek redress through expensive courts, and distant local authorities. If the boat happens to be loaded and to have a supercargo who will not or cannot bribe high enough, he is abandoned on the sands by his crew; in his search for aid from the neighbourhood, his helplessness becomes known—he is perhaps murdered, or runs away in the apprehension of being so—the boat is plundered and made a wreck: still the dread of the delays and costs of our courts, and the utter hopelessness of ever recovering the lost property, prevent the proprietors from seeking redress, and our government authorities know nothing of the circumstances.

We remained at Bughoree the 21st, to enable our people to prepare for the long march they had before them; and to see a little more of our Jubbulpore friends, who were to have another day's shooting, as black partridges and quail had been found abundant in the neighbourhood of our camp.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGIOUS SECTS—SELF-GOVERNMENT OF THE CASTES—CHIMNEY-SWEEPERS—WASHERWOMEN — ELEPHANT-DRIVERS.

MEER SULAMUT ALI, the head native collector of the district, a venerable old Mussulman, and most valuable public servant, who has been labouring in the same vineyard with me for the last fifteen years with great zeal, ability, and integrity, came to visit me after breakfast with his two very pretty and interesting young sons. While we were sitting together, my wife's under-woman said to some one who was talking with her outside the tent door, "If that were really the case, should I not be degraded?" "You see, Meer Sahib," said I, "that the very lowest members of society among these Hindoos still feel the pride of caste, and dread exclusion from their own, however low."

"Yes," said the Meer, "they are a very strange kind of people; and I question whether they ever had a *real prophet* among them!"

"I question, Meer Sahib, whether they really ever had such a person. They of course think the incar-

nation of their three great divinities were beings infinitely superior to prophets, being in all their attributes and prerogatives equal to the divinities themselves. But we are disposed to think, that these incarnations were nothing more than great men whom their flatterers and poets have exalted into gods—this was the way in which men made their gods in ancient Greece and Egypt. These great men were generally conquerors, whose glory consisted in the destruction of their fellow creatures; and this is the glory which their flatterers are most prone to extol All that the poets have sung of the actions of men is now received as revelation from heaven; though nothing can be more monstrous than the actions attributed to the best incarnation, Krishna, of the best of their gods, Vishnoo."

"No doubt," said Sulamut Ali; "and had they ever had a *real prophet* among them he would have revealed better things to them: strange people! when their women go on pilgrimages to Guya, they have their heads shaved before the image of their god; and the offering of the hair is equivalent to the offer of *their heads;* for heads, *thank God,* they dare no longer offer within the Company's territories!"

"Do you, Meer Sahib, think that they continue to offer up human sacrifices anywhere?"

"Certainly I do. There is a Rajah at Ruttunpore, or somewhere between Mundlah and Sumbhulpore, who has a man offered up to Devy every year; and that man must be a Brahman. If he

can get a Brahman traveller, well and good; if not, he and his priests offer one of his own subjects. Every Brahman that has to pass through this territory goes in disguise. With what energy did our emperor Ourungzebe apply himself to put down iniquities like this in the Rajpootana states—but all in vain! If a Rajah died, all his numerous wives burnt themselves with his body—even their servants, male and female, were obliged to do the same; for, said his friends, what is he to do in the next world without attendants? The pile was enormous: on the top sat the queen with the body of the prince; the servants, male and female, according to their degree, below; and a large army stood all round to drive into the fire again or kill all who should attempt to escape!"

"This is all very true, Meer Sahib, but you must admit, that though there is a great deal of absurdity in their customs and opinions, there is, on the other hand, much that we might all take an example from. The Hindoo believes that Christians and Mussulmans may be as good men in all relations of life as himself, and in as fair a way to heaven as he is; for he believes, that my Bible and your Koran are as much revelations framed by the Deity for our guidance, as the Shastres are for his. He doubts not that our Christ was the Son of God; nor that Mahomed was the prophet of God; and all that he asks from us is, to allow him freely to believe in his own gods, and to worship in his own way. Nor does one caste or one sect of Hindoos ever believe itself

to be alone in the right way, or detest any other for not following in the same path, as they have as much of toleration for each other as they have for us."

"True," exclaimed Sulamut Ali, "too true! we have ruined each other: we have cut each other's throats: we have lost the empire, and we deserve to lose it. You won it, and you preserved it by your *union*—ten men with one heart are equal to a hundred men with different hearts. A Hindoo may feel himself authorised to take in a Mussulman, and might even think it *meritorious* to do so; but he would never think it meritorious to take in one of his own religion. There are no less than seventy-two sects of Mahomedans; and every one of these sects would not only take in the followers of every other religion on earth, but every member of every one of the other seventy-one sects; and the nearer that sect is to its own, the greater the merit in taking in its members!"*

"Something has happened of late to annoy you I fear, Meer Sahib?"

* Meer Sulamut Ali is a staunch Soonnee, the sect of Osman; and they are always at daggers drawn with the Sheeas, or the sect of Ali. He alludes to the Sheeas when he says that one of the seventy-two sects is always ready to take in the whole of the other seventy-one. Mahomed, according to the traditions, was one day heard to say, "The time will come when my followers will be divided into seventy-three sects—all of them will assuredly go to hell save one." Every one of the seventy-three sects believes itself to be the one happily excepted by their prophet, and predestined to paradise. I am sometimes disposed to think

"Something happens to annoy us every day, sir, where we are more than one sect of us together; and wherever you find Mussulmans you will find them divided into sects."

It is not perhaps known to many of my countrymen in India, that in every city and town in the country the right of sweeping the houses and streets is one of the most intolerable of monopolies, supported entirely by the *pride of caste* among the scavengers, who are all of the lowest class! The right of sweeping within a certain range is recognized by the caste to belong to a certain member; and if any other member presumes to sweep within that range, he is *excommunicated*—no other member will smoke out of his *pipe*, or drink out of his jug; and he can get restored to caste only by a feast to the whole body of sweepers. If any house-keeper within a particular circle happens to offend the sweeper of

Mahomed was self-deluded, however difficult it might be to account for so much "method in his madness." It is difficult to conceive a man placed in such circumstances with more amiable dispositions or with juster views of the rights and duties of men in all their relations with each other, than are exhibited by him on almost all occasions, save where the question of *faith* in his divine mission was concerned.

A very interesting and useful book might be made out of the history of those men, more or less *mad*, by whom multitudes of manklnd have been led and perhaps governed; and a philosophical analysis of the points on which they were really mad and really sane, would show many of them to have been fit subjects for a madhouse during the whole career of their glory!

that range, none of his filth will be removed till he pacifies him, because no other sweeper will dare to touch it; and the people of a town are often more *tyrannized* over by these people than by any other. It is worthy of remark, that in India the spirit of combination is always in the inverse ratio to the rank of the class—weakest in the highest, and strongest in the lowest class. All infringements upon the rules of the class are punished by fines. Every fine furnishes a feast at which every member sits, and enjoys himself. Payment is enforced by excommunication—no one of the caste will eat, drink, or smoke with the convicted till the fine is paid; and as every one shares in the fine, every one does his best to enforce payment. The fines are imposed by the elders who know the circumstances of the culprit, and fix the amount accordingly. Washermen will often at a large station combine to prevent the washerman of one gentleman from washing the clothes of the servants of any other gentleman, or the servants of one gentleman from getting their clothes washed by any other person than their own master's washerman. This enables them sometimes to raise the rate of washing to double the fair or ordinary rate; and at such places the washermen are always drunk with one continued routine of feasts from the fines levied. The cost of these fees falls ultimately upon the poor servants or their masters. This combination, however, is not always for bad or selfish purposes. I was once on the staff of an

officer commanding a brigade on service, whose elephant-driver exercised an influence over him that was often mischievous and sometimes dangerous; for in marching and choosing his ground, this man was more often consulted than the quarter-master general. His bearing was most insolent, and became intolerable as well to the European gentlemen as to the people of his caste. He at last committed himself by saying that he would spit in the face of another gentleman's elephant-driver with whom he was disputing. All the elephant-drivers in our large camp were immediately assembled, and it was determined in council to refer the matter to the decision of the Rajah of Dhurbunga's driver, who was acknowledged the head of the class. We were all breakfasting with the brigadier after muster when the reply came—the distance to Dhurbunga from Nathpore on the Koosee river, where we then were, must have been a hundred and fifty miles. We saw men running in all directions through the camp, without knowing why; till at last one came and summoned the brigadier's driver. With a face of terror he came and implored the protection of the brigadier; who got angry, and fumed a good deal, but seeing no expression of sympathy in the faces of his officers, he told the man to go and hear his sentence. He was escorted to a circle formed by all the drivers in camp, who were seated on the grass. The offender was taken into the middle of the circle and commanded to stand on one leg while the Rajah's driver's letter

was read. He did so, and the letter directed him to apologise to the offended party, pay a heavy fine for a feast, and pledge himself to the assembled drivers never to offend again. All the officers in camp were delighted, and some who went to hear the sentence explained declared, that in no court in the world could the thing have been done with more solemnity and effect. The man's character was quite altered by it, and he became the most docile of drivers. On the same principle here stated, of enlisting the community in the punishment of offenders, the New Zealanders, and other savage tribes who have been fond of human flesh, have generally been found to confine the feast to the body of those who were put to death for offences against the state or the individual. I and all the officers of my regiment were at one time in the habit of making every servant who required punishment or admonition to bring immediately, and give to the first religious mendicant we could pick up, the fine we thought just. All the religionists in the neighbourhood declared, that justice had never been so well administered in any other regiment; no servant got any sympathy from them—they were all told that their masters were far too lenient!

We crossed the Herun river about ten miles from our last ground on the 22nd, and came on two miles to our tents in a mango grove close to the town of Kuttungee, and under the Vindhya range of sandstone hills, which rises almost perpendicular to the

height of some eight hundred feet over the town. This range from Kuttungee skirts the Nerbudda valley to the north, as the Sathpore range skirts it to the south; and both are of the same sand-stone formation capped with basalt, upon which here and there is found masses of laterite, or iron clay. Nothing has ever yet been found reposing upon this iron clay. The strata of this range have a gentle and almost imperceptible dip to the north, at right angles to its face which overlooks the valley, and this face has everywhere the appearance of a range of gigantic round bastions projecting into what was perhaps a lake, and is now a well-peopled, well-cultivated, and very happy valley, about twenty miles wide. The river crosses and recrosses it diagonally. Near Jubbulpore it flows along for some distance close under the Sathpore range to the south; and crossing over the valley from Beraghat it reaches the Vindhya range to the north, at the point where it receives the Herun river, forty miles below.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GREAT ICONOCLAST—TROOPS ROUTED BY HORNETS—THE RANEE OF GURRA—HORNETS' NESTS IN INDIA.

On the 23rd we came on nine miles to Singrampore, and on the 24th nine more to the valley of Jubeyrah, situated on the western extremity of the bed of a large lake which is now covered by twenty-four villages. The waters were kept in by a large wall that united two hills about four miles south of Jubeyrah. This wall was built of great cut freestone blocks from the two hills of the Vindhya range, which it united. It was about half a mile long, one hundred feet broad at the base, and about one hundred feet high. The stones, though cut, were never, apparently, cemented; and the wall has long given way in the centre, through which now flows a small stream that passes from east to west of what was once the bottom of the lake, and now is the site of so many industrious and happy little village communities. The proprietor of the village of Jubeyrah, in whose mango grove our tents were pitched, con-

ducted me to the ruins of the wall; and told me that it had been broken down by the order of the Emperor *Ourungzebe.* History to these people is all a fairy tale; and this emperor is the great destroyer of everything that the Mahomedans in their fanaticism have demolished of the Hindoo sculpture or architecture: and yet, singular as it may appear, they never mention his name with any feelings of indignation or hatred. With every scene of his supposed outrage against their gods or their temples, there is always associated the recollection of some instance of his piety, and the Hindoo's glory!—of some idol, for instance, or column, preserved from his fury by a *miracle*, whose divine origin he is supposed at once to have recognized with all due reverence. At Beragur, the high priest of the temple told us, that Ourungzebe and his soldiers knocked off the heads, arms, and noses of all the idols, saying, "that if they had really any of the godhead in them, they would assuredly now show it, and save themselves." But when they came to the door of Gouree Sunkur's apartments, they were attacked by a nest of hornets, that put the whole of the emperor's army to the route; and his imperial majesty called out, "Here we have really something like a god, and we shall not suffer him to be molested: if all your gods could give us proof like this of their divinity, not a nose of them would ever be touched!"

The popular belief, however, is that after Ourungzebe's army had struck off all the prominent features

of the other gods, one of the soldiers entered the temple, and struck off the ear of one of the prostrate images underneath their vehicle, the Bull. "My dear," said Gouree, "do you see what these saucy men are about?" Her consort turned round his head; and seeing the soldiers around him, brought all the hornets up from among the marble rocks below, where there are still so many nests of them, and the whole army fled before them to Teoree, five miles. It is very likely that some body of troops by whom the rest of the images had been mutilated, may have been driven off by a nest of hornets from within the temple where this statue stands. I have seen six companies of infantry, with a train of artillery, and a squadron of horse, all put to the route by a single nest of hornets; and driven off some miles with all their horses and bullocks. The officers generally save themselves, by keeping within their tents, and creeping under their bed-clothes, or their carpets; and servants often escape by covering themselves up in their blankets, and lying perfectly still. Horses are often stung to a state of madness, in which they throw themselves over precipices, and break their limbs, or kill themselves. The grooms, in trying to save their horses, are generally the people who suffer most in a camp attacked by such an enemy. I have seen some so stung as to recover with difficulty; and I believe there have been instances of people not recovering at all. In such a frightful scene I have seen a bullock sitting and chewing the

cud as calmly as if the whole thing had been got up for his amusement! The hornets seldom touch any *animal that remains perfectly still.*

On the bank of the Beena river at Eerun, in the Saugor district, is a beautiful pillar of a single freestone of more than fifty feet high, surmounted by a figure of Krishna, with the glory round his head. Some few of the rays of this glory have been struck off by lightning; but the people declare, that this was done by a shot fired at it from a cannon by order of *Ourungzebe*, as his army was marching by on its way to the Deccan. Before the scattered fragments however could reach the ground, the air was filled, they say, by a swarm of hornets, that put the whole army to flight; and the emperor ordered his gunners to desist, declaring "that he was satisfied of the presence of the god!" There is hardly any part of India in which, according to popular belief, similar miracles were not worked to convince the emperor of the peculiar merits or sanctity of particular idols or temples, according to the traditions of the people, derived, of course, from the inventions of priests. I should mention, that these hornets suspend their nests to the branches of the highest trees, under rocks, or in old deserted temples. Native travellers, soldiers, and camp followers, cook and eat their food under such trees; but they always avoid one in which there is a nest of hornets, particularly on a still day. Sometimes they do not discover the nest till it is too late. The unlucky wight goes on feeding his fire, and delighting in the prospect of the

feast before him, as the smoke ascends in circling eddies to the nest of the hornets. The moment it touches them they sally forth and descend, and sting like mad creatures every living thing they find in motion. Three companies of my regiment were escorting treasure in boats from Allahabad to Cawnpore for the army under the Marquis of Hastings, in 1817. The soldiers all took their dinners on shore every day; and one still afternoon a sipahee, by cooking his dinner under one of those nests without seeing it, sent the infuriated swarm among the whole of his comrades, who were cooking in the same grove, and undressed, as they always are on such occasions. Treasure, food, and all were immediately deserted, and the whole of the party, save the European officers, were up to their noses in the river Ganges. The hornets hovered over them; and it was amusing to see them bobbing their heads under as the insects tried to pounce upon them. The officers covered themselves up in the carpets of their boats; and as the day was a hot one, their situation was still more uncomfortable than that of the men. Darkness alone put an end to the conflict.

I should mention that the poor old Ranee, or Queen of Gurba, Suchmee Koour, came out as far as Kuttungee with us to take leave of my wife, to whom she has always been attached. She had been in the habit of spending a day with her at my house once a week; and being the only European lady from whom she had ever received any attention, or

indeed ever been on terms of any intimacy with, she feels the more sensible of the little offices of kindness and courtesy she has received from her.* Her husband, Nurbur Saw, was the last of the long line of sixty-two sovereigns, who reigned over these territories from the year A. D. 358 to the Saugor conquest A. D. 1781. He died a prisoner in the fortress of Koorae, in the Saugor district, in A. D. 1789, leaving two widows. One burnt herself upon the funeral pile, and the other was prevented from doing so, merely because she was thought too young, as she was not then fifteen years of age. She received a small pension from the Saugor government, which was still further reduced under the Nagpore government that succeeded it in the Jubbulpore district in which the pension had been assigned; and it was not thought necessary to increase the amount of this pension when the territory came under our dominion, so that she has had barely enough to subsist upon—about one hundred rupees a month. She is now about sixty years of age, and still a very good-looking woman. In her youth she must have been beautiful. She does not object to appear unveiled before gentlemen, on any particular occasion; and when Lord W. Bentinck was at Jubbulpore in 1833,

* After we left Jubbulpore, the old Ranee used to receive much kind and considerate attention from the Hon. Mrs. Shore, a very amiable woman, the wife of the Governor-general's representative, the Hon. Mr. Shore, a very worthy and able member of the Bengal civil service.

I introduced the old queen to him. He seemed much interested, and ordered the old lady a pair of shawls. None but very coarse ones were to be found in the store-rooms of the Governor-general's representative, and his lordship said these were not such as a governor-general could present, or a *queen*, however poor, receive; and as his own tosbukhana, (wardrobe) had gone on, he desired that a pair of the finest kind should be purchased and presented to her in his name. The orders were given in her presence and mine. I was obliged to return to Saugor before they could be carried into effect; and when I returned in 1835, I found that the *rejected* shawls had been presented to her, and were such coarse things that she was ashamed to wear them, as much I really believe on account of the exalted person who had given them, as her own. She never mentioned the subject till I asked her to let me see the shawls, which she did reluctantly; and she was too proud to complain. How the good intentions of the Governor-general had been frustrated in this case I have never learned. The native officer in charge of the store was dead, and the Governor-general's representative had left the place. Better could not, I suppose, be got at this time, and he did not like to defer giving them.

CHAPTER X.

THE PEASANTRY AND THE LAND SETTLEMENT.

THE officers of the 29th had found game so plentiful, and the weather so fine, that they came on with us as far as Jubeyrah, where we had the pleasure of their society on the evening of the 24th, and left them on the morning of the 25th. A great many of my native friends, from among the native landholders and merchants of the country, flocked to our camp at every stage, to pay their respects, and bid me farewell, for they never expected to see me back among them again. They generally came out a mile or two to meet and escort us to our tents; and much do I fear, that my poor boy will never again, in any part of the world, have the blessings of heaven so fervently invoked upon him by so many worthy and respectable men as met us at every stage, on our way from Jubbulpore. I am much attached to the agricultural classes of India generally, and I have found among them some of the best men I have ever known. The peasantry in

India have generally very good manners, and are exceedingly intelligent, from having so much more leisure, and unreserved and easy intercourse with those above them. The constant habit of meeting and discussing subjects connected with their own interests, in their own fields and "under their own fig-trees," with their landlords and government functionaries of all kinds and degrees, prevents their ever feeling or appearing impudent or obtrusive; though it certainly tends to give them stentorian voices, that often startle us when they come into our houses to discuss the same points with us.

Nine-tenths of the immediate cultivators of the soil in India are little farmers, who hold a lease for one or more years, as the case may be, of their lands, which they cultivate with their own stock. One of these cultivators, with a good plough and bullocks, and a good character, can always get good lands on moderate terms from holders of villages. These cultivators are, I think, the best who learn to depend upon their stock and character for favourable terms, hold themselves free to change their holdings when their leases expire, and pretend not to any hereditary right of property in the soil. The lands are, I think, best cultivated, and the society best constituted in India, where the holders of *estates of villages* have a feeling of permanent interest in them, an assurance of an hereditary right of property which is liable only to the payment of a moderate government demand, descends undivided

CHAPTER X.

THE PEASANTRY AND THE LAND SETTLEMENT.

The officers of the 29th had found game so plentiful, and the weather so fine, that they came on with us as far as Jubeyrah, where we had the pleasure of their society on the evening of the 24th, and left them on the morning of the 25th. A great many of my native friends, from among the native landholders and merchants of the country, flocked to our camp at every stage, to pay their respects, and bid me farewell, for they never expected to see me back among them again. They generally came out a mile or two to meet and escort us to our tents; and much do I fear, that my poor boy will never again, in any part of the world, have the blessings of heaven so fervently invoked upon him by so many worthy and respectable men as met us at every stage, on our way from Jubbulpore. I am much attached to the agricultural classes of India generally, and I have found among them some of the best men I have ever known. The peasantry in

India have generally very good manners, and are exceedingly intelligent, from having so much more leisure, and unreserved and easy intercourse with those above them. The constant habit of meeting and discussing subjects connected with their own interests, in their own fields and "under their own fig-trees," with their landlords and government functionaries of all kinds and degrees, prevents their ever feeling or appearing impudent or obtrusive; though it certainly tends to give them stentorian voices, that often startle us when they come into our houses to discuss the same points with us.

Nine-tenths of the immediate cultivators of the soil in India are little farmers, who hold a lease for one or more years, as the case may be, of their lands, which they cultivate with their own stock. One of these cultivators, with a good plough and bullocks, and a good character, can always get good lands on moderate terms from holders of villages. These cultivators are, I think, the best who learn to depend upon their stock and character for favourable terms, hold themselves free to change their holdings when their leases expire, and pretend not to any hereditary right of property in the soil. The lands are, I think, best cultivated, and the society best constituted in India, where the holders of *estates of villages* have a feeling of permanent interest in them, an assurance of an hereditary right of property which is liable only to the payment of a moderate government demand, descends undivided

by the law of primogeniture, and is unaffected by the common law, which prescribes the equal subdivision among children of landed as well as other private property, among the Hindoos and Mahomedans; and where the immediate cultivators hold the lands they till by no other law than that of common specific contract.

When I speak of holders of villages, I mean the holders of lands that belong to villages. The whole face of India is parcelled out into estates of villages. The village communities are composed of those who hold and cultivate the land, the established village servants, priest, blacksmith, carpenter, accountant, washerman, basket-maker, (whose wife is *ex officio* the midwife of the little village community,) potter, watchman, barber, shoemaker, &c. &c.* To these may be added the little banker, or agricultural capitalist, the shopkeeper, the brazier, the confectioner, the ironmonger, the weaver, the dyer, the astronomer, or astrologer, who points out to the people the lucky day for every earthly undertaking, and the prescribed times for all religious ceremonies and observances. In some villages the whole of the lands are parcelled out among cultivating proprietors, and are liable to eternal subdivision by the law of inheritance, which gives to each son the same share. In others, the

* In some parts of Central and Southern India, the Garpugree, who charms away hail-storms from the crops, and the Bhoomka, who charms away tigers from the people and their cattle, are added to the number of village servants.

whole of the lands are parcelled out among cultivators, who hold them on a specific lease for limited periods, from a proprietor who holds the whole collectively under government, at a rate of rent fixed either permanently or for limited periods. These are the two extremes. There are but few villages in which all the cultivators are considered as proprietors, at least but few in our Nerbudda territories; and these will almost invariably be found of a caste of Brahmans or a caste of Rajpoots, descended from a common ancestor, to whom the estate was originally given in rent-free tenure, or at a quit rent, by the existing government for his prayers as a priest, or his services as a soldier. Subsequent governments, which resumed unceremoniously the estates of others, were deterred from resuming these by a dread of the curses of the one and the swords of the other.* Such communities of cultivating proprietors are of two kinds, those among whom the lands are parcelled out, each member holding his share as a distinct estate, and being individually responsible for the payment of the share of the government demand assessed upon it; and those among whom

* Very often the government of the country know nothing of these tenures; the local authorities allowed them to continue as a perquisite of their own. The holders were willing to pay them a good share of the rent, assured that they would be resumed if reported by the local authorities to the government. These authorities consented to take a moderate share of the rent, assured that they should get little or nothing if the lands were resumed.

the lands are not parcelled out, but the profits divided as among copartners of an estate held jointly. They, in either case, nominate one of their members to collect and pay the government demand; or government appoints a man for this duty, either as a salaried servant, or as a lessee, with authority to levy from the cultivating proprietors a certain sum over and above what is demandable from him.

The communities in which the cultivators are considered merely as lease-holders, are far more numerous—indeed the greater part of the village communities in this part of India are of this description; and where the communities are of a mixed character, the cultivating proprietors are considered to have merely a right of occupancy, and are liable to have their lands assessed at the same rate as those held on a mere lease tenure. In all parts of India the cultivating proprietors, in such mixed communities, are similarly situated—they are liable to be assessed at the same rate as others holding the same sort of lands; and often pay a higher rate, with which others are not encumbered. But this is not general: it is as much the interest of the proprietor to have good cultivating tenants, as it is that of the tenants to have good proprietors; and it is felt to be the interest of both to adjust their terms amicably among themselves, without a reference to a third and superior party, which is always costly and commonly ruinous.

It is a question of very great importance, no less

morally and *politically* than *fiscally*, which of these systems deserves most encouragement—that in which the government considers the immediate cultivators to be the hereditary proprietors, and, through its own public officers, parcels out the lands among them, and adjusts the rates of rent demandable from every minute partition, as the lands become more and more subdivided by the Hindoo and Mahomedan law of inheritance; or that in which the government considers him who holds the area of a whole village or estate collectively as the hereditary proprietor, and the immediate cultivators as his lease-tenants—leaving the rates of rent to be adjusted among the parties without the aid of public officers, or interposing only to enforce the fulfilment of their mutual contracts. In the latter of these two systems the lands will supply more and better members to the middle and higher classes of the society, and create and preserve a better feeling between them and the peasantry, or immediate cultivators of the soil; and it will occasion the reinvestment upon the soil, in works of ornament and utility, of a greater portion of the annual returns of rent and profit, and a less expenditure in the costs of litigation in our civil courts, and bribery to our public officers.

Those who advocate the other system, which makes the immediate cultivators the proprietors, will, for the most part, be found to reason upon false premises—upon the assumption that the rates

of rent demandable from the immediate cultivators of the soil *were everywhere limited and established by immemorial usage, in a certain sum of money per acre, or a certain share of the crop produced from it*; and "that these rates were not only so limited and fixed, but everywhere *well known to the people*," and might consequently have become well known to the government, and recorded in public registers. Now every practical man in India, who has had opportunities of becoming well acquainted with the matter, knows, that *the reverse is the case*; that the rate of rent demandable from these cultivators *never was the same upon any two estates at the same time; nor ever the same upon any one estate at different times, or for any consecutive number of years.* The rates vary every year on every estate, according to the varying circumstances that influence them—such as greater or less exhaustion of the soil—greater or less facilities of irrigation, manure, transit to market, drainage—or from fortuitous advantages on one hand, or calamities of season on the other; or many other circumstances which affect the value of the land, and the abilities of the cultivators to pay. It is not so much the proprietor of the estate, or the government, as the cultivators themselves, who demand every year a readjustment of the rate demandable upon their different holdings. This readjustment must take place; and if there is no landlord to effect it, government must effect it through its own officers. Every holding becomes subdivided when

the cultivating proprietor dies, and leaves more than one child; and as the whole face of the country is open and without hedges, the division is easily and speedily made. Thus the field map which represents an estate one year will never represent it fairly five years after: in fact, we might almost as well attempt to map the waves of the ocean, as field-map the face of any considerable area in any part of India.

If there be any truth in my conclusions, our government has acted unwisely in going, as it has generally done, into the two extremes, in its settlement of the land revenue. In the Zemindaree settlement of Bengal, it conferred the hereditary right of property over areas larger than English counties on individuals, and left the immediate cultivators mere tenants at will. These individuals felt no interest in promoting the comfort and welfare of the village communities, or conciliating the affections of the cultivators, whom they never saw or wished to see; and they let out the village, or other subdivision of their estates to second parties quite as little interested, who again let them out to others, so that the system of rack renting went on over the whole area of the immense possession. This was a system "more honoured in the breach than the observance;" for as the great landholders became involved in the [illegible] of their cultivators, their estates were sold for [illegible] f revenue due to government, and thus the [illegible] ght of one individual has become [illegible] [illegible]

many, who will have the feelings which the larger holders wanted, and so remedy the evil. In the other extreme, government has constituted the immediate cultivators the proprietors; thereby preventing any one who is supported upon the rent of land, or the profits of agricultural stock, from rising above the grade of a peasant, and so depriving society of one of its best and most essential elements. The remedy of both is in village settlements, in which the estate shall be of moderate size, and the hereditary property of the holder, descending on the principle of a principality, by the right of primogeniture, unaffected by the common law. This is the system which has been adopted in the Nerbudda territory, and which I trust will be always adhered to.

When we enter upon the government of any new territorial acquisition in India, we do not require or pretend to change the civil laws of the people; because their civil laws and their religion are in reality one and the same, and are contained in one and the same code, as certainly among the Hindoos, the Mahomedans, and the Parsees, as they were among the Israelites. By these codes, and by the established usages everywhere well understood by the people, are their rights and duties in marriage, inheritance, succession, caste, contract, and all the other civil relations of life, ascertained; and when we displace another government, we do not pretend to alter such rights and duties in relation to each other, we merely change the machinery and mode

of procedure, by which these rights are secured and these duties enforced. Of criminal law no system was ever either regularly established or administered in any state in India, by any government to which we have succeeded; and the people always consider the existing government free to adopt that which may seem best calculated to effect the one great object, which criminal law has everywhere in view —*the security of life, property, and character, and the enjoyment of all their advantages*. The actions by which these are affected and endangered, the evidence by which such actions require to be proved and the penalties with which they require to be visited, in order to prevent their recurrence, are, or ought to be, so much the same in every society, that the people never think us bound to search for what Mahomed and his companions thought in the wilds of Arabia, or the Sanscrit poets sung about them in courts and cloisters. They would be just as well pleased everywhere to find us searching for these things in the writings of Confucius and Zoroaster, as in those of Mahomed and Menu; and much more so, to see us consulting our own common sense, and forming a penal code of our own, suitable to the wants of such a mixed community.

The fiscal laws which define the rights and duties of the landed interests and the agricultural classes in relation to each other and to the ruling powers, were also everywhere exceedingly simple and well under-

stood by the people. What in England is now a mere fiction of law, is still in India an essential principle. All lands are held directly or indirectly of the sovereign: to this rule there is no exception. The reigning sovereign is essentially the proprietor of the whole of the lands in every part of India, where he has not voluntarily alienated them; and he holds these lands for the payment of those public establishments which are maintained for the public good, and are supported by the rents of the lands either directly under assignment, or indirectly, through the sovereign proprietor. When a Mahomedan or Hindoo sovereign assigned lands, rent free in *perpetuity*, it was always understood, both by the donor and receiver, to be with the *small reservation* of a right in his successor to resume them for the public good, if he should think fit.* Hindoo sove-

* Ameer Khan, the Nawab of Tonk, assigned to his physician, who had cured him of an intermittent fever, lands yielding one thousand rupees a-year, in rent-free tenure, and gave him a deed signed by himself and the heir apparent, declaring expressly, that it should descend to him and his heirs for ever. He died lately, and his son and successor, who had signed the deed, resumed the estate without ceremony. On being remonstrated with, he said, "that his father while living was of course master, and could make him sign what he pleased, and give land rent-free to whom he pleased; but his successor must now be considered the best judge, whether they could be spared or not; that if lands were to be alienated in perpetuity by every reigning Nawab, for every dose of medicine, or dose of prayers, that he or the members of his family required, none would soon be left

reigns, or their priests for them, often tried to bar this right, by *invoking curses* on the head of that successor who should exercise it. It is a proverb among the people of these territories, and I believe among the people of India generally, that the lands which pay no rent to government have no *'Burkut*, blessing from above—that the man who holds them is not blessed in their returns like the man who pays rent to government, and thereby contributes his aid to the protection of the community. The fact is, that every family that holds rent-free lands, must, in a few generations, become miserable, from the minute subdivision of the property, and the litigation in our civil courts which it entails upon the holders. It is certainly the general opinion of the people of India, that no land should be held without paying rent to government, or providing for people employed in the service of government, for the benefit of the people in its defensive, religious, judicial, educational, and other establishments. Nine-tenths of the land in these Nerbudda territories are held in lease immediately under government by the heads of villages, whose leases have been renewable every five years; but they are now to have a settlement for twenty. The other tenth is held by these heads of villages interme-

for the payment of the soldiers, or other necessary public servants of any description." This was told me by the son of the old physician, who was the person to whom the speech was made, his father having died before Ameer Khan.

diately under some chief, who holds several portions of land immediately under government at a quit rent, or for service performed, or to be performed, for government, and lets them out to farmers. These are for the most part situated in the more hilly and less cultivated parts.

CHAPTER XI.

WITCHCRAFT.

On leaving Jubeyrah, I saw an old acquaintance from the eastern part of the Jubbulpore district, Kehree Sing.

"I understand, Kehree Sing," said I, "that certain men among the Gonds of the Jungle, towards the source of the Nerbudda, eat human flesh. Is it so?"

"No, sir, the men never eat people, but the Gond women do."

"Where?"

"Everywhere, sir; there is not a parish—nay, a village, among the Gonds, in which you will not find one or more such women."

"And how do they eat people?"

"They eat their livers, sir."

"O! I understand; you mean witches?"

"Of course! Who ever heard of other people eating human beings?"

"And you really still think, in spite of all that we have done and said, that there are such things as witches?"

"Of course we do—do not we find instances of it every day? European gentlemen are too apt to believe that things like this are not to be found here, because they are not to be found in their own country. Major Wardlow, when in charge of the Seonee district, denied the existence of witchcraft for a long time; but he was at last convinced."

"How?"

"One of his troopers one morning, after a long march, took some milk for his master's breakfast from an old woman without paying for it. Before the major had got over his breakfast, the poor trooper was down upon his back, screaming from the agony of internal pains. We all knew immediately that he had been bewitched; and recommended the major to send for some one learned in these matters to find out the witch. He did so; and after hearing from the trooper the story about the milk, this person at once declared that the woman from whom he got it was the criminal. She was searched for, found, and brought to the trooper, and commanded to cure him. She flatly denied that she had herself conjured him; but admitted that her household gods might, unknown to her, have punished him for his wickedness. This, however, would not do. She was commanded to cure the man; and she set about collecting materials for the poojah (worship); and before she could get quite through the ceremonies, all his pains had left him. Had we not been resolute with her, the man must have died before evening, so violent were his torments."

"Did not a similar case occur to Mr. Fraser, at Jubbulpore? How was this?"

"A Chuprassie of his, while he had charge of the Jubbulpore district, was sent out to Mundlah with a message of some kind or other. He took a cock from an old Gond woman, without paying for it; and being hungry after a long journey, ate the whole of it in a curry. He heard the woman mutter something, but being a raw, unsuspecting young man, he thought nothing of it; ate his cock, and went to sleep. He had not been asleep three hours before he was seized with internal pains, and the old cock was actually heard crowing in his belly! He made the best of his way back to Jubbulpore, several stages; and all the most skilful men were employed to charm away the effect of the old woman's spell—but in vain—he died, and the cock never ceased crowing at intervals up to the hour of his death."

"And was Mr. Fraser convinced?"

"I never heard, but suppose he must have been."

"Who ate the livers of the victims? The witches themselves, or the evil spirits with whom they had dealings?"

"The evil spirits ate the livers, but they are set on to do so by the witches, who get them into their power by such accursed sacrifices and offerings. They will often dig up young children from their graves, bring them to life, and allow these devils to feed upon their livers, as falconers allow their hawks

to feed on the breasts of pigeons. You sahib loge (European gentlemen) will not believe all this; but it is, nevertheless, all very true."*

The belief in sorcery among these people owes its origin, in a great measure, to the diseases of the liver and spleen, to which the natives, and particularly the children, are much subject in the jungly parts of central India. From these affections children pine away and die, without showing any external marks of disease. Their death is attributed to witchcraft; and any querulous old woman, who has been in the habit of murmuring at slights and ill-treatment in the neighbourhood, is immediately set down as the cause. Men who practice medicine among them are very commonly supposed to be at the same time wizards. Seeking to inspire confidence in their prescriptions, by repeating prayers and incantations over the patient, or over the medicine they give him, they make him believe, that they derive aid from supernatural power; and the patient concludes that those who can command these powers to *cure*, can, if they will, command them to *destroy*. He and his friends believe, that the man who can command these powers to cure one individual, can command them to cure any other; and if he does not do so, they believe that it arises from a desire to destroy the pa-

* Of the supposed powers and dispositions of witches among the Romans we have horrible pictures in the 5th book of the 5th Ode of Horace, and in the 6th book of Lucan's Pharsalia.

tient. I have, in these territories, known a great many instances of medical practitioners having been put to death for not curing young people for whom they were required to prescribe. Several cases have come before me as a magistrate, in which the father has stood over the doctor with a drawn sword by the side of the bed of his child, and cut him down and killed him the moment the child died, as he had sworn to do when he found the patient sinking under his prescriptions!

The town of Jubbulpore contains a population of twenty thousand souls, and they all believed in this story of the cock. I one day asked a most respectable merchant in the town, Naudoo Chowdree, how the people could believe in such things; when he replied that he had no doubt witches were to be found in every part of India, though they abounded most, no doubt, in the central parts of it; and that we ought to consider ourselves very fortunate in having no such things in *England!* "But," added he, "of all countries, that between Mundlah and Cuttuck is the worst for witches. I verily believe that every old woman has the power of witchcraft in that quarter. I had once occasion to go to the city of Ruttunpore on business; and was one day, about noon, walking in the market-place, and eating a very fine piece of sugar cane. In the crowd, I happened, by accident, to jostle an old woman as she passed me. I looked back, intending to apologise for the accident, and heard her muttering indistinctly as

river; but they had conjured the waters and would not sink—they ought to have been put to death, but the governor was himself afraid of this kind of people, and let them off. There is not," continued Jungbar, "a village, or a single family, without its witch in that part of the country; indeed no man will give his daughter in marriage to a family without one, saying, 'If my daughter has children, what will become of them, without a witch to protect them from the witches of other families in the neighbourhood?' It is a fearful country, though the cheapest and most fertile in India."

We can easily understand how a man, impressed with the idea that his blood had all been drawn from him by a sorceress, should become faint, and remain many days in a languid state; but how the people around should believe that they saw the blood flowing from both parts of the cane, at the place cut through, it is not so easy to conceive. I am satisfied that old Jungbar believed the whole story to be true; and that at the time he thought the juice of the cane red; but the little pool of blood grew, no doubt, by degrees, as years rolled on, and he related this tale of the fearful powers of the Khiloutee witches.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SILVER TREE, OR KULPA BRIKSHA—THE SINGHARA OR TRAPA BISPINOSA, AND THE GUINEA WORM.

Poor old Salamut Ali wept bitterly at the last meeting in my tent, and his two nice boys, without exactly knowing why, began to do the same; and my little son Henry caught the infection, and wept louder than any of them. I was obliged to hurry over the interview lest I should feel disposed to do the same. The poor old Ranee too suffered a good deal in parting with my wife, whom she says she can never hope to see again. Her fine large eyes shed many a tear as she was getting into her palankeen to return.

Between Jubeyrah and Hurdooa, the next stage, we find a great many of those large forest trees called kullup, or kulpa briksha, (the same which in the paradise of Indra grants what is desired,) with a soft silvery bark, and scarcely any leaves. We are told, that the name of the god *Ram*, and his consort

Seeta, will be found written by the hand of *God* upon all.* I had the curiosity to examine a good many in the forest on both sides of the road; and found the name of this incarnation of Vishnoo written on every one in Sanscrit characters, apparently by some supernatural hand; that is, there was a softness in the impression, as if the finger of some supernatural being had traced the characters. Nathoo, one of our belted attendants, told me, "that we might search as deeply as we would in the forest, but we should certainly find the name of God upon every one; "for," said he, "it is God himself who writes it!" I tried to argue him out of this notion; but unfortunately could find no tree without these characters—some high up, and some lower down in the trunk—some large and others small—but still to be found on every tree. I was almost in despair, when we came to a part in the wood where we found one of these trees down in a hollow, under the road, and another upon the precipice above. I was ready to stake my credit upon the probability, that no traveller would take the trouble to go up to the tree above, or down to the tree below, merely to write the name of the god upon them; and at once pledged myself to Nathoo, that he should find neither the god's name nor that of his wife. I sent one man up

* The real kulpa, which now stands in the garden of the god Indra in the first heaven, was one of the fourteen rarities found at the churning of the ocean by the gods and demons. It fell to the share of Indra.

and another down; and they found no letters on the trees; but this did not alter their opinion on the point. "God," said one, "had no doubt put his name on these trees, but they had some how or other got rubbed off. He would in good time renew them, that men's eyes might be blessed with the sight of his holy name, even in the deepest forest, and on the most leafless tree."* "But," said Nathoo, "he might not have thought it worth while to write his name upon those trees which no travellers go to see!" "Cannot you see," said I, "that these letters have been engraved by man? Are they not all to be found on the trunk within reach of a man's hand? "Of course they are," replied he, "because people would not be able conveniently to distinguish them if God were to write them higher up!"

Sheikh Sadee has a very pretty couplet. "Every leaf of the foliage of a green tree is, in the eye of a wise man, a library to teach him the wisdom of his Creator." I may remark that where an Englishman would write his own name, a Hindoo would write that of his god, his parent, or his benefactor. This

* Every Hindoo is thoroughly convinced that the names of Ram and his consort Seeta, are written on this tree by the hand of God; and nine-tenths of the Mussulmans believe the same.

"Happy the man who sees a God employed
In all the good and ill that chequer life,
Resolving all events, with their effects
And manifold results, into the will
And arbitration wise of the Supreme."

COWPER.

difference is traceable of course to the difference in their governments and institutions. If a Hindoo built a town, he called it after his local governor; if a local governor built it, he called it after a favourite son of the Emperor. In well-regulated Hindoo families, one cannot ask a younger brother after his children in presence of the elder brother who happens to be the head of the family; it would be disrespectful for him even to speak of his children as his own in such presence—the elder brother relieves his embarrassment by answering for him.

On the 27th we reached Dhumow, where our friends, the Browns, were to leave us on their return to Jubbulpore. Dhumow is a pretty place. The town contains some five or six thousand people, and has some very handsome Hindoo temples. On a hill immediately above it is the shrine of a Mahomedan saint which has a very picturesque appearance. There are no manufactures at Dhumow, except such as supply the wants of the immediate neighbourhood; and the town is supported by the residence of a few merchants, a few landholders, and agricultural capitalists, and the establishment of a native collector. The people here suffer much from the guinea worm, and consider it to arise from drinking the water of the old tank, which is now very dirty, and filled with weeds. I have no doubt that it is occasioned either by drinking the water of this tank, or wading in it; for I have known European gentlemen get the worm in their legs from wading

in similar lakes or swamps after snipes, and the servants who followed them with their ammunition experience the same effect. Here, as in most other parts of India, the tanks get spoiled by the water chestnut, singhara, (trapa bispinosa,) which is everywhere as regularly planted and cultivated *in fields* under a large surface of water, as wheat or barley is on the dry plains. It is cultivated by a class of men called Dheemurs, who are everywhere fishermen and palankeen bearers; and they keep boats for the planting, weeding, and gathering the singhara. The holdings or tenements of each cultivator are marked out carefully on the surface of the water by long bamboos stuck up in it; and they pay so much the acre for the portion they till. The long straws of the plants reach up to the surface of the waters, upon which float their green leaves; and their pure white flowers expand beautifully among them in the latter part of the afternoon. The nut grows under the water after the flowers decay, and is of a triangular shape, and covered with a tough brown integument adhering strongly to the kernel, which is white, esculent, and of a fine cartilaginous texture. The people are very fond of these nuts, and they are carried often upon bullocks' backs two or three hundred miles to market. They ripen in the latter end of the rains, or in September; and are eatable till the end of November. The rent paid for an ordinary tank by the cultivator is about one hundred rupees a year. I have known two hundred rupees to be paid for a

very large one, and even three hundred, or thirty pounds, a year. But the mud increases so rapidly from this cultivation, that it soon destroys all reservoirs in which it is permitted; and where it is thought desirable to keep up the tank for the sake of the water, it should be carefully prohibited. This is done by stipulating with the renter of the village, at the renewal of the lease, that no singhara shall be planted in the tank, otherwise he will never forego the advantage to himself of the rent for the sake of the convenience, and that only prospective, of the village community in general.

CHAPTER XIII.

THUGS AND POISONERS.

Lieutenant Brown had come on to Dhumow chiefly with a view to investigate a case of murder, which had taken place at the village of Soojeina, about ten miles from Dhumow, on the road to Huttah. A gang of two hundred Thugs were encamped in the grove at Hindoreea in the cold season of 1814, when, early in the morning, seven men well armed with swords and matchlocks passed them bearing treasure from the bank of Motee Kocheea, at Jubbulpore, to their correspondents at Banda, to the value of four thousand five hundred rupees. The value of their burthen was immediately perceived by these *keen-eyed sportsmen*, and Kosuree, Drigpaul, and Feringeea, three of the leaders, with forty of their fleetest and stoutest followers, were immediately selected for the pursuit. They followed for seven miles unperceived; and coming up with the treasure-bearers in a water-course half a mile from the village of Soojeina, they

rushed in upon them, and put them all to death with their swords. While they were doing so, a tanner from Soojeina approached with his buffalo; and, to prevent his giving the alarm, they put him to death also, and made off with the treasure, leaving the bodies unburied. A heavy shower of rain fell, and none of the village people came to the place till the next morning early; when some females passing it on their way to Huttah, saw the bodies, and returning to Soojeina, reported the circumstance to their friends. The whole village thereupon flocked to the spot; and the body of the tanner was burned by his relations with the usual ceremonies; while all the rest were left to be eaten by jackals, dogs, and vultures, who make short work of such things in India.*

* Lieutenant Brown was suddenly called back to Jubbulpore, and could not go himself to Soojeina. He sent, however, an intelligent native officer to the place, but no man could be induced to acknowledge, that he had ever seen the bodies or heard of the affair; though Feringeea pointed out to them exactly where they all lay. They said it must be quite a mistake—that such a thing could not have taken place and they know nothing of it! Lieutenant Brown was aware that all this affected ignorance arose entirely from the dread these people have of being summoned to give evidence to any of our distant courts of justice; and wrote to the officer in the civil charge of the district, to request that he would assure them, that their presence would not be required. Mr. Doolan, the assistant magistrate, happened to be going through Soojeina from Saugor on deputation at the time; and sending for all the respectable old men of the place, he requested that they would be under no apprehension, but tell him the real truth, as he could pledge

We had occasion to examine a very respectable old gentleman at Dhumow upon the case, Gobiuel Dass, a revenue officer under the former government, and now about seventy years of age. He told us, that he had no knowledge whatever of the murder of the eight men at Soojeina; but he well remembered another which took place seven years before the time we mentioned, at Abhana, a stage or two back, on the road to Jubbulpore. Seventeen treasure-bearers lodged in the grove near that town on their way from Jubbulpore to Saugor. At night they were set upon by a large gang of Thugs, and sixteen of them strangled; but the seventeenth laid hold of the noose before it could be brought to bear upon his throat, pulled down the villain who held it, and made his way good to the town. The Rajah, Duruk Sing,

himself that not one of them should ever be summoned to any distant court to give evidence. They then took him to the spot, and pointed out to him where the bodies had been found; and mentioned, that the body of the tanner had been burned by his friends. The banker, whose treasure they were carrying, had an equal dislike to be summoned to court to give evidence, now that he could no longer hope to recover any portion of his lost money; and it was not till after Lieutenant Brown had given him a similar assurance, that he would consent to have his books examined. The loss of the four thousand five hundred rupees was there found entered, with the names of the men who had been killed at Soojeina in carrying it. These are specimens of some of the minor difficulties we had to contend with in our efforts to put down the most dreadful of all crimes. All the prisoners accused of these murders had just been tried for others, or Lieutenant Brown would not have been able to give the pledge he did.

went to the spot with all the followers he could collect; but he found there nothing but the sixteen naked bodies lying in the grove, with their eyes apparently starting out of their sockets! The Thugs had all gone off with the treasure and their clothes; and the Rajah searched for them in vain.

A native commissioned officer of a regiment of native infantry, one day told me, that while he was on duty over some Thugs at Lucknow, one of them related, with great seeming pleasure, the following case, which seemed to him one of the most remarkable that he had heard them speak of during the time they were under his charge.

"A stout Mogul officer of noble bearing and singularly handsome countenance, on his way from the Punjab to Oude, crossed the Ganges at Gurmuktesur Ghat, near Meeruth, to pass through Moradabad and Bareilly. He was mounted on a fine Turkee horse, and attended by his Khidmutgar (butler) and groom. Soon after crossing the river, he fell in with a small party of well-dressed and modest-looking men, going the same road. They accosted him in a respectful manner, and attempted to enter into conversation with him. He had heard of Thugs, and told them to be off. They smiled at his idle suspicions, and tried to remove them, but all in vain; the Mogul was determined; they saw his nostrils swelling with indignation, took their leave, and followed slowly. The next morning he overtook the

same number of men, but of a different appearance, all Mussulmans. They accosted him in the same respectful manner; talked of the danger of the road, and the necessity of their keeping together, and taking advantage of the protection of any mounted gentleman that happened to be going the same way. The Mogul officer said not a word in reply, resolved to have no companions on the road. They persisted—his nostrils began again to swell, and putting his hand to his sword, he bid them all be off, or he would have their heads from their shoulders. He had a bow and quiver full of arrows over his shoulders, a brace of loaded pistols in his waist-belt, and a sword by his side, and was altogether a very formidable looking cavalier. In the evening another party, that lodged in the same surae, became very intimate with the butler and groom. They were going the same road; and as the Mogul overtook them in the morning, they made their bows respectfully, and began to enter into conversation with their two friends, the groom and the butler, who were coming up behind. The Mogul's nostrils began again to swell, and he bid the strangers be off. The groom and butler interceded, for their master was a grave, sedate man, and they wanted companions. All would not do, and the strangers fell in the rear. The next day, when they had got to the middle of an extensive and uninhabited plain, the Mogul in advance, and his two servants a few hundred yards behind, he came up to a party of six poor

Mussulmans, sitting weeping by the side of a dead companion. They were soldiers from Lahore, on their way to Lucknow, worn down by fatigue in their anxiety to see their wives and children once more, after a long and painful service. Their companion, the hope and prop of his family, had sunk under the fatigue, and they had made a grave for him; but they were poor unlettered men, and unable to repeat the funeral service from the holy Koran—would his highness but perform this last office for them, he would no doubt find his reward in this world and the next. The Mogul dismounted—the body had been placed in its proper position, with its head towards Mecca. A carpet was spread—the Mogul took off his bow and quiver, then his pistols and sword, and placed them on the ground near the body—called for water, and washed his feet, hands, and face, that he might not pronounce the holy words in an unclean state. He then knelt down and began to repeat the funeral service, in a clear loud voice. Two of the poor soldiers knelt by him, one on each side in silence. The other four went off a few paces, to beg that the butler and groom would not come so near as to interrupt the good Samaritan at his devotions. All being ready, one of the four, in a low under-tone, gave the Shirnee, (signal,) the handkerchiefs were thrown over their necks, and in a few minutes all three—the Mogul and his servants—were dead, and lying in the grave in the usual manner, the head of one at the feet of the one below him. All the

parties they had met on the road belonged to a gang of Jumaldehee Thugs, of the kingdom of Oude. In despair of being able to win the Mogul's confidence, in the usual way, and determined to have the money and jewels, which they knew he carried with him, they had adopted this plan of disarming him; dug the grave by the side of the road, in the open plain, and made a handsome young Mussulman of the party the dead soldier. The Mogul being a very stout man, died almost without a struggle, as is usually the case with such; and his two servants made no resistance."

People of great sensibility, with hearts overcharged with sorrow, often appear cold and callous to those who seem to them to feel no interest in their afflictions. An instance of this kind I will here mention; it is one of thousands that I have met with in my Indian rambles. It was mentioned to me one day that an old Fukeer, who lived in a small hut close by a little shrine on the side of the road near the town of Moradabad, had lately lost his son, poisoned by a party of Dhutooreeas, or professional poisoners that now *infest every* road throughout India. I sent for him, and requested him to tell me his story, as I might perhaps be able to trace the murderers. He did so, and a Persian writer took it down while I listened with all the coldness of a magistrate, who wanted merely to learn facts, and have nothing whatever to do with feelings. This is his story literally:—

Mussulmans, sitting weeping by the side of a dead companion. They were soldiers from Lahore, on their way to Lucknow, worn down by fatigue in their anxiety to see their wives and children once more, after a long and painful service. Their companion, the hope and prop of his family, had sunk under the fatigue, and they had made a grave for him; but they were poor unlettered men, and unable to repeat the funeral service from the holy Koran—would his highness but perform this last office for them, he would no doubt find his reward in this world and the next. The Mogul dismounted—the body had been placed in its proper position, with its head towards Mecca. A carpet was spread—the Mogul took off his bow and quiver, then his pistols and sword, and placed them on the ground near the body—called for water, and washed his feet, hands, and face, that he might not pronounce the holy words in an unclean state. He then knelt down and began to repeat the funeral service, in a clear loud voice. Two of the poor soldiers knelt by him, one on each side in silence. The other four went off a few paces, to beg that the butler and groom would not come so near as to interrupt the good Samaritan at his devotions. All being ready, one of the four, in a low under-tone, gave the Shirnee, (signal,) the handkerchiefs were thrown over their necks, and in a few minutes all three—the Mogul and his servants—were dead, and lying in the grave in the usual manner, the head of one at the feet of the one below him. All the

parties they had met on the road belonged to a gang of Jumaldehee Thugs, of the kingdom of Oude. In despair of being able to win the Mogul's confidence, in the usual way, and determined to have the money and jewels, which they knew he carried with him, they had adopted this plan of disarming him; dug the grave by the side of the road, in the open plain, and made a handsome young Mussulman of the party the dead soldier. The Mogul being a very stout man, died almost without a struggle, as is usually the case with such; and his two servants made no resistance."

People of great sensibility, with hearts overcharged with sorrow, often appear cold and callous to those who seem to them to feel no interest in their afflictions. An instance of this kind I will here mention; it is one of thousands that I have met with in my Indian rambles. It was mentioned to me one day that an old Fukeer, who lived in a small hut close by a little shrine on the side of the road near the town of Moradabad, had lately lost his son, poisoned by a party of Dhutooreeas, or professional poisoners that now infest every road throughout India. I sent for him, and requested him to tell me his story, as I might perhaps be able to trace the murderers. He did so, and a Persian writer took it down while I listened with all the coldness of a magistrate, who wanted merely to learn facts, and have nothing whatever to do with feelings. This is his story literally:—

"I reside in my hut by the side of the road a mile and half from the town, and live upon the bounty of travellers, and people of the surrounding villages. About six weeks ago, I was sitting by the side of my shrine after saying prayers, with my only son, about ten years of age, when a man came up with his wife, his son, and his daughter, the one a little older and the other a little younger than my boy. They baked and ate their bread near my shrine, and gave me flour enough to make two cakes. This I prepared and baked. My boy was hungry, and ate one cake and a half. I ate only half a one, for I was not hungry. I had a few days before purchased a new blanket for my boy, and it was hanging in a branch of the tree that shaded the shrine, when these people came. My son and I soon became stupified. I saw him fall asleep, and I soon followed. I awoke again in the evening, and found myself in a pool of water. I had sense enough to crawl towards my boy! I found him still breathing; and I sat by him with his head in my lap, where he soon died. It was now evening, and I got up, and wandered about all night picking up straws—I know not why. I was not yet quite sensible. During the night the wolves ate my poor boy. I heard this from travellers, and went and gathered up his bones and buried them in the shrine. I did not quite recover till the third day, when I found that some washerwomen had put me into the pool, and left me there with my head out, in hopes that this would

revive me; but they had no hope of my son. I was then taken to the police of the town; but the landholders had begged me to say nothing about the poisoners, lest it might get them and their village community into trouble. The man was tall and fair, and about thirty-five; the woman short, stout, and fair, and about thirty: two of her teeth projected a good deal; the boy's eyelids were much diseased."

All this he told me without the slightest appearance of emotion, for he had not seen any appearance of it in me, or my Persian writer; and a casual European observer would perhaps have exclaimed, "What brutes these natives are! this fellow feels no more for the loss of his only son than he would for that of a goat!" But I knew the feeling was there. The Persian writer put up his paper, and closed his inkstand; and the following dialogue, word for word, took place between me and the old man.

Question. What made you conceal the real cause of your boy's death, and tell the police that he had been killed as well as eaten by wolves?

Answer. The landholders told me that they could never bring back my boy to life, and the whole village would be worried to death by them if I made any mention of the poison.

Question. And if they were to be punished for this they would annoy you?

Answer. Certainly. But I believe they advised me for my own good as well as their own.

Question. And if they should turn you away from that place, could you not make another?

Answer. Are not the bones of my poor boy there; and the trees that he and I planted and watched together for ten years?

Question. Have you no other relations? What became of your boy's mother?

Answer. She died at that place when my boy was only three months old. I have brought him up myself from that age: he was my only child, and he has been poisoned for the sake of the blanket! (Here the poor old man sobbed as if his heartstrings would break; and I was obliged to make him sit down on the floor while I walked up and down the room.)

Question. Had you any children before?

Answer. Yes, sir, we had several, but they all died before their mother. We had been reduced to beggary by misfortunes, and I had become too weak and ill to work. I buried my poor wife's bones by the side of the road where she died; raised the little shrine over them, planted the trees, and there have I sat ever since by her side, with our poor boy in my bosom. It is a sad place for wolves, and we used often to hear them howling outside; but my poor boy was never afraid of them when he knew I was near him. God preserved him to me, till the sight of the new blanket, for I had nothing else in the world, made these people poison us! I bought it for him only a few days before when the rains were

coming on, out of my savings—it was all I had. (The poor old man sobbed again, and sat down while I paced the room, lest I should sob also; my heart was becoming a little too large for its apartment.) "I will never," continued he, "quit the bones of my wife and child, and the tree that he and I watered for so many years. I have not many years to live; there I will spend them, whatever the landholders may do—they advised me for my own good, and will never turn me out."

I found all the poor man stated to be true; the man and his wife had mixed poison with the flour to destroy the poor old man and his son for the sake of the new blanket which they saw hanging in the branch of the tree, and carried away with them. The poison used on such occasions is commonly the dutora, and it is sometimes given in the hookah to be smoked, and at others in food. When they require to poison children as well as grown-up people, or women who do not smoke, they mix up the poison in food. The intention is almost always to destroy life, as "dead men tell no tales;" but the poisoned people sometimes recover, as in the present case, and lead to the detection of the poisoners. The cases in which they recover are, however, rare; and of those who recover few are ever able to trace the poisoners; and of those who recover and trace them, very few will ever undertake to prosecute them through the several courts of the magistrate, the sessions, and that of last instance in a distant dis-

trict, to which the proceedings must be sent for final orders.

The impunity with which this crime is everywhere perpetrated, and its consequent increase in every part of India, are among the greatest evils with which the country is at this time afflicted. These poisoners are spread all over India, and are as numerous over the Bombay and Madras presidencies as over that of Bengal. There is no road free from them, and throughout India there must be many hundreds who gain their subsistence by this trade alone. They put on all manner of disguises to suit their purpose; and as they prey chiefly upon the poorer sort of travellers, they require to destroy the greater number of lives to make up their incomes. A party of two or three poisoners have very often succeeded in destroying another of eight or ten travellers with whom they have journeyed for some days, by pretending to give them a feast on the celebration of the anniversary of some family event. Sometimes an old woman or man will manage the thing alone, by gaining the confidence of travellers, and getting near the cooking-pots while they go aside; or when employed to bring the flour for the meal from the bazaar. The poison is put into the flour or the pot, as opportunity offers.

People of all castes and callings take to this trade, some casually, others for life, and others derive it from their parents or teachers. They assume all manner of disguises to suit their purposes; and the habit

of cooking, eating, and sleeping on the side of the road, and smoking with strangers of seemingly the same caste, greatly facilitate their designs upon travellers. The small parties are unconnected with each other, and two parties never unite in the same cruise. The members of one party may be sometimes convicted and punished, but their conviction is accidental, for the system which has enabled us to put down the Thug associations cannot be applied, with any fair prospect of success, to the suppression of these pests to society.

The Thugs went on their adventures in large gangs; and two or more were commonly united in the course of an expedition in the perpetration of many murders. Every man shared in the booty according to the rank he held in the gang, or the part he took in the murders; and the rank of every man, and the part he took generally, or in any particular murder, were generally well known to all. From among these gangs, when arrested, we found the evidence we required for their conviction—or the means of tracing it, among the families and friends of their victims—or with persons to whom the property taken had been disposed of—and in the graves to which the victims had been consigned.

To give an idea of the system by which the government of India has been enabled to effect so great a good for the people as the suppression of these associations, I will suppose that two sporting gentlemen, A at Delhi, and B in Calcutta, had both described

the killing of a tiger in an island in the Ganges, near Hurdwar, and mentioned the names of the persons engaged with them. Among the persons thus named were C, who had since returned to America, D, who had retired to New South Wales, E to England, and F to Scotland. There were four other persons named who were still in India, but they are deeply interested in A and B's story not being believed. A says that B got the skin of the tiger, and B states that he gave it to C, who cut out two of the claws. Application is made to C, D, E, and F, and without the possibility of any collusion, or even communication between them, their statements correspond precisely with those of A and B, as to the time, place, circumstances, and persons engaged. Their statements are sworn to before magistrates, in presence of witnesses, and duly attested. C states that he got the skin from B, and gave it to the Nawab of Rampore for a hookah carpet, but that he took from the left forefoot two of the claws, got them set in gold by a goldsmith in Lucknow, and gave them to the minister of the King of Oude for a charm for his sick child.

The Nawab of Rampore being applied to, states that he received the skin from C, at the time and place mentioned, and that he still smokes his hookah upon it; and that it had lost the two claws upon the left forefoot. The minister of the King of Oude states that he received the two claws nicely set in gold; that they had cured his boy, who still wore

them round his neck to guard him from the evil eye. The goldsmith states that he set the two claws in gold for C, who paid him handsomely for his work. The peasantry, whose cattle graze on the island, declare that certain gentlemen did kill a tiger there about the time mentioned, and that they saw the body after the skin had been taken off, and the vultures had begun to descend upon it.

To prove that what A and B had stated could not possibly be true, the other party appeal to some of their townsmen, who are said to be well acquainted with their characters. They state that they really know nothing about the matter in dispute; that their friends, who are opposed to A and B, are much liked by their townspeople and neighbours, as they have plenty of money, which they spend freely; but that they are certainly very much addicted to field-sports, and generally absent in pursuit of wild-beasts for three or four months every year; but whether they were or were not present at the killing of the great Gurmuktesur tiger they could not say.

Most persons would, after examining this evidence, be tolerably well satisfied that the said tiger had really been killed at the time and place, and by the persons mentioned by A and B; but to establish the fact judicially, it would be necessary to bring A, B, C, D, E, and F, the Nawab of Rampore, the minister of the King of Oude, and the goldsmith, to the criminal court at Meeruth, to be confronted with the persons whose interest it was that A and

B should not be believed. They would all, perhaps, come to the said court from the different quarters of the world in which they had thought themselves snugly settled; but the thing would annoy them so much, and be so much talked of, that sporting gentlemen, nawabs, ministers, and goldsmiths, would in future take good care "to have forgotten" everything connected with the matter in dispute, should another similar reference be made to them, and so A and B would never again have any chance.

Thug approvers, whose evidence we required, were employed in all parts of India, under the officers appointed to put down these associations; and it was difficult to bring all whose evidence was necessary at the trials, to the court of the district in which the particular murder had been perpetrated. The victims were, for the most part, money-carriers, whose masters and families resided hundreds of miles from the place where they were murdered, or people on their way to their distant homes from foreign service. There was no chance of recovering any of the property taken from the victims, as Thugs were known to spend what they got freely, and never to have money by them; and the friends of the victims, and the bankers whose money they carried, were everywhere found exceedingly averse to take any share in the prosecution.

To obviate all these difficulties, separate courts were formed, with permission to receive whatever evidence they might think likely to prove valuable, at-

taching to each portion, whether documentary or oral, whatever weight it might seem to deserve. Such courts were formed at Hydrabad, Mysore, Indore, Lucknow, Gwalior, and were presided over by our highest diplomatic functionaries, in concurrence with the princes at whose courts they were accredited; and who at Jubbulpore were under the direction of the representative of the Governor-General of India. By this means we had a most valuable species of unpaid agency; and I believe there is no part of their public life on which these high functionaries look back with more pride, than that spent in presiding over such courts, and assisting the supreme government in relieving the people of India from this fearful evil.*

* I may here mention the names of a few diplomatic officers of distinction who have aided in the good cause: of the civil service—Mr. F. C. Smith, Mr. Martin, Mr. George Stockwell, Mr. Charles Fraser, the Hon. Mr. Wellesley, the Hon. Mr. Shore, the Hon. Mr. Cavendish, Mr. George Clerk, Mr. L. Wilkinson, Mr. Box; Majors-General, Cubbon and Fraser; Colonels, Low, Stewart, Alves, Spiers, Caulfield, Sutherland, and Wade; Major Wilkinson; and among the foremost, Major Bothwick and Captain Paton.

and perseverance can produce out of the resources of a country even in the rudest state of industry and the arts.

The river Nerbudda neither is nor ever can, I fear, be made navigable; and the produce of its valley would require to find its way to distant markets over the Vindhya range of hills to the north, or the Sathpore to the south. If the produce of the soil, mines, and industry of the valley cannot be transported to distant markets, the government cannot possibly find in it any available net surplus revenue in money; for it has no mines of the precious metals, and the precious metals can flow in only in exchange for the produce of the land and the industry of the valley that flows out. If the government wishes to draw a net surplus revenue from the valley or from the districts that border upon it, that is, a revenue beyond its expenditure in support of the local public establishments, it must either draw it in produce, or for what can be got for that produce in distant markets. Hitherto little beyond the rude produce of the soil has been able to find its way into distant markets from the valley of the Nerbudda; yet this valley abounds in iron mines; and its soil, where unexhausted by cropping, is of the richest quality.* It is

* The soil of the valley of the Nerbudda, and that of the Nerbudda and Saugor territories generally, is formed for the most part of the detritus of trap rocks that everywhere covered the sand-stone of the Vindhya and Sathpore ranges which run through these territories. This basaltic detritus forms what is

not then too much to hope, that in time the iron of the mines will be worked into machinery for manufactures; and that multitudes, aided by this machinery, and subsisted on the rude agricultural produce, which now flows out, will invest the value of their labour in manufactured commodities adapted to the demand of foreign markets, and better able from their superior value compared with their bulk, to pay the cost of transport by land. Then, and not till then, can we expect to see these territories pay a considerable net surplus revenue to government, and abound in a middle class of merchants, manufacturers, and agricultural capitalists.

At Sunodah there is a very beautiful little fortress or castle now unoccupied, though still entire. It was built by an officer of the Rajah Chutter Saul, of Bundelcund, about one hundred and twenty years ago. He had a grant on the tenure of military service of twelve villages situated round this place; and a man who could build such a castle to defend the surrounding country from the inroads of freebooters, and to secure himself and his troops from any sudden impulse of the people's resentment, was as likely to acquire an increase of territorial possession in these parts, as he would have been in Europe during the middle ages. The son of this chief, by name Rae Sing, was, soon after the castle had been completed,

called the black *cotton* soil by the English, for what reason I know not.

and perseverance can produce out of the resources of a country even in the rudest state of industry and the arts.

The river Nerbudda neither is nor ever can, I fear, be made navigable; and the produce of its valley would require to find its way to distant markets over the Vindhya range of hills to the north, or the Sathpore to the south. If the produce of the soil, mines, and industry of the valley cannot be transported to distant markets, the government cannot possibly find in it any available net surplus revenue in money; for it has no mines of the precious metals, and the precious metals can flow in only in exchange for the produce of the land and the industry of the valley that flows out. If the government wishes to draw a net surplus revenue from the valley or from the districts that border upon it, that is, a revenue beyond its expenditure in support of the local public establishments, it must either draw it in produce, or for what can be got for that produce in distant markets. Hitherto little beyond the rude produce of the soil has been able to find its way into distant markets from the valley of the Nerbudda; yet this valley abounds in iron mines; and its soil, where unexhausted by cropping, is of the richest quality.* It is

* The soil of the valley of the Nerbudda, and that of the Nerbudda and Saugor territories generally, is formed for the most part of the detritus of trap rocks that everywhere covered the sand-stone of the Vindhya and Sathpore ranges which run through these territories. This basaltic detritus forms what is

not then too much to hope, that in time the of the mines will be worked into machinery manufactures; and that multitudes, aided by machinery, and subsisted on the rude agricul produce, which now flows out, will invest the v of their labour in manufactured commodities ada to the demand of foreign markets, and better from their superior value compared with their l to pay the cost of transport by land. Then, and till then, can we expect to see these territories a considerable net surplus revenue to governn and abound in a middle class of merchants, m facturers, and agricultural capitalists.

At Sunodah there is a very beautiful little for or castle now unoccupied, though still entire. was built by an officer of the Rajah Chutter Sa Bundelcund, about one hundred and twenty ago. He had a grant on the tenure of mil service of twelve villages situated round this p and a man who could build such a castle to de the surrounding country from the inroads of booters, and to secure himself and his troops any sudden impulse of the people's resentment as likely to acquire an increase of territorial posse in these parts, as he would have been in Europe d the middle ages. The son of this chief, by name Sing, was, soon after the castle had been compl

called the black *cotton* soil by the English, for what re know not.

killed in an attack upon a town near Chitterkote; and having in the estimation of the people *become a god*, he had a temple and a tomb raised to him close to our encampment. I asked the people how he had become a *god*; and was told, that some one who had been long suffering from a quartan ague went to the tomb one night, and promised Rae Sing, whose ashes lay under it, that if he could contrive to cure his ague for him, he would, during the rest of his life, make offerings to his shrine. After that he had never another attack, and was very punctual in his offerings. Others followed his example and with like success, till Rae Sing was recognized among them universally as a god, and a temple raised to his name! This is the way that gods were made all over the world at one time, and are still made all over India. Happy had it been for mankind if those only who were supposed to do good had been deified!

On the 2nd we came on to the village of Kojunpore, (leaving the town and cantonments of Saugor to our left,) a distance of some fourteen miles. The road for a great part of the way lies over the bare back of the sandstone strata, the covering of basalt having been washed off. The hills, however, are everywhere, at this distance from the city and cantonments of Saugor, nicely wooded; and being constantly intersected by pretty little valleys, the country we came over was picturesque and beautiful. The soil of all these valleys is rich from the detritus of the basalt that forms or caps the hills; but it is

now in a bad state of cultivation, partly from several successive seasons of great calamity, under which the people have been suffering, and partly from over assessment; and this posture of affairs is continued by that loss of energy, industry, and character, among the farmers and cultivators, which must everywhere result from these two evils. In India, where the people have learnt so well how to govern themselves from the want of settled government, good or bad government really depends almost altogether upon *good or bad settlements of the land revenue.* Where the government demand is imposed with moderation, and enforced with justice, there will the people be generally found happy and contented; and disposed to perform their duties to each other and to the state, except when they have the misfortune to suffer from drought, blight, and other calamities of season.

I have mentioned that the basalt in the Saugor district reposes for the most part immediately upon the sandstone of the Vindhya range: and it must have been deposited on the sand while the latter was yet at the bottom of the ocean, though this range is now, I believe, nowhere less than from fifteen hundred to two thousand feet above the level of the sea. The marks of the ripple of the sea may be observed in some places where the basalt has been recently washed off, beautifully defined, as if formed only yesterday; and there is no other substance to be seen between the two rocks. The texture of

the sandstone at the surface, where it comes in contact with the basalt, has in some places been altered by it; but in others it seems to have been as little changed as the habitations of the people who were suffocated by the ashes of Vesuvius in the city of Pompeii. I am satisfied, from long and careful examination, that the greater part of this basalt, which covers the table land of central and southern India, must have been held for some time in suspension in the ocean or lake into which it was first thrown in the shape of ashes, and then gradually deposited. This alone can account for its frequent appearance of stratification, for the gentle blending of its particles with those of the sand near the surface of the latter; and above all, for those level steps, or tables, lying one above another horizontally in parallel lines on one range, corresponding exactly with the same parallel lines one above another on a range twenty or thirty miles across the valley. Mr. Scrope's theory is, I believe, that these are all mere flowings, or coulées of lava, which, in their liquid state, filled hollows, but afterwards became of a harder texture as they dried and crystallized than the higher rocks around them; the consequence of which is that the latter have been decomposed and washed away, while the basalt has been left to form the highest elevations. My opinion is, that these steps, or stairs, at one time formed the beds of the ocean, or of great lakes; and that the substance of which they are composed was, for the most part, projected into the

water, and there held in suspension till gradually deposited. There are, however, amidst these steps and beneath them, masses of more compact and crystalline basalt, that bear evident signs of having been flows of lava.*

Reasoning from analogy at Jubbulpore, where some of the basaltic cappings of the hills had evidently been thrown out of craters long after this surface had been raised above the waters, and become the habitation both of vegetable and animal life, I made the first discovery of fossil remains in the Nerbudda valley. I went first to a hill within sight of my house in 1828, and searched exactly between the plateau of basalt that covered it, and the stratum immediately below; and there I found several small trees with roots, trunks, and branches, all entire, and beautifully petrified. They had been only recently uncovered by the washing away of a part of the basaltic plateau. I soon after found some fossil bones of animals. Going over to Saugor, in the end of 1830, and reasoning there upon the same analogy, I searched for fossil remains along the line of contact between the basalt and the surface upon which it

* Since writing the above, I have seen Colonel Sykes's notes on the formations of southern India in the India Review. The facts thére described, seem all to support my conclusion; and his map would answer just as well for central as for southern India; for the banks of the Nerbudda and Chumbul, Sohun and Mahanuddee, as well as for those of the Baum and the Beema. Colonel Sykes does not, I believe, attempt to account for the stratification of the basalt; he merely describes it.

had been deposited; and I found a grove of silicified palm trees within a mile of the cantonments. These palm trees had grown upon a calcareous deposit formed from springs rising out of the basaltic range of hills to the south. The commissariat officer had cut a road though this grove, and all the European officers of a large military station had been every day riding through it without observing the geological treasure; and it was some time before I could convince them, that the stones which they had every day seen were really petrified palm trees. The roots and trunks were beautifully perfect.

CHAPTER XV.

LEGEND OF THE SAUGOR LAKE—PARALYSIS FROM EATING THE GRAIN OF THE LATHYRUS SATIVUS.

The cantonments of Saugor are about two miles from the city and occupied by three regiments of native infantry, one of local horse, and a company of European artillery. The city occupies two sides of one of the most beautiful lakes in India, formed by a wall which unites two sand-stone hills on the north side. The fort and part of the town stands upon this wall, which, according to tradition, was built by a wealthy merchant of the *Brinjara* caste. After he had finished it, the bed of the lake still remained dry; and he was told, in a dream, or by a priest, that it would continue so till he should consent to sacrifice his own daughter, then a girl, and the young lad to whom she had been affianced, to the tutelary god of the place. He accordingly built a little shrine in the centre of the valley, which was to become the bed of the lake, put the two children in, and built up the doorway. He had no sooner done so than the whole

of the valley became filled with water, and the old merchant, the priest, the masons, and spectators, made their escape with much difficulty. From that time the lake has been inexhaustible; but no living soul of the *Brinjara* caste has ever since been known to drink of its waters! Certainly all of that caste at present religiously avoid drinking the water of the lake; and the old people of the city say, that they have always done so since they can remember; and that they used to hear from their parents that they had always done so. In nothing does the founder of the Christian religion appear more amiable than in his injunction, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not." In nothing do the Hindoo deities appear more horrible than in the delight they are supposed to take in their sacrifice—it is everywhere the helpless, the female, and the infant, that they seek to devour—and so it was among the Phœnicians and their Carthaginian colonies. Human sacrifices were certainly offered in the city of Saugor during the whole of the Murhutta government up to the year 1800, when they were put a stop to by the local governor, Assa Sahib, a very humane man; and I once heard a very learned Brahman priest say, that he thought the decline of his family and government arose from this *innovation*. "There is," said he, "no sin in *not* offering human sacrifices to the gods where none have been offered; but where the gods have been accustomed to them, they are very naturally annoyed when

the rite is abolished, and visit the place and people with all kinds of calamities." He did not seem to think, that there was anything singular in this mode of reasoning; and perhaps three Brahman priests out of four would have reasoned in the same manner!

In descending into the valley of the Nerbudda over the Vindhya range of hills from Bhopaul, one may see by the side of the road, upon a spur of the hill, a singular pillar of sand-stone rising in two spires, one turning above and rising over the other, to the height of from twenty to thirty feet. On a spur of a hill half a mile distant, is another sand-stone pillar not quite so high. The tradition is, that the smaller pillar was the affianced bride of the taller one, who was a youth of a family of great eminence in these parts. Coming with his uncle to pay his first visit to his bride, in the procession they call the Buraut, he grew more and more impatient as he approached nearer and nearer, and she shared the feeling. At last, unable to restrain himself, he jumped upon his uncle's shoulder, and looked with all his might towards the spot where his bride was said to be seated. Unhappily she felt no less impatient than he did, and raising "the fringed curtains of her eye," as he raised his, they saw each other at the same moment. In that moment the bride, bridegroom, and uncle were all converted into stone pillars; and there they stand to this day a monument, in the estimation of the people, to warn man and womankind against too strong an inclination to indulge curiosity!

It is a singular fact, that in one of the most extensive tribes of the Gond population of central India, to which this couple is said to have belonged, the bride always goes to the bridegroom in the procession of the Buraut, to prevent a recurrence of this calamity! It is the bridegroom who goes to the bride among every other class of the people of India, as well Mahomedans as Hindoos. Whether the usage grew out of the tradition, or the tradition out of the usage, is a question that will admit of much being said on both sides. I can only vouch for the existence of both. I have seen the pillars, heard the tradition from the people, and ascertained the usage; as in the case of that of the Saugor lake.

The Mahadeo sand-stone hills, which in the Sathpore range overlook the Nerbudda to the south, rise to between four and five thousand feet above the level of the sea; and in one of the highest parts a fair was formerly, and is, perhaps, still held for the enjoyment of those who assemble to witness the self-devotion of a few young men, who offer themselves as a sacrifice, to fulfil the vows of their mothers! When a woman is without children she makes votive offerings to all the gods who can, she thinks, assist her; and promises of still greater in case they should grant what she wants. Smaller promises being found of no avail, she at last promises her first-born, if a male, to the god of destruction, Mahadeo. If she gets a son she conceals from him her vows till he has attained the age of puberty; she then com-

municates it to him, and enjoins him to fulfil it. He believes it to be his paramount duty to obey his mother's call; and from that moment he considers himself as devoted to the god. Without breathing to any living soul a syllable of what she has told him, he puts on the habit of a pilgrim or religious mendicant—visits all the celebrated temples dedicated to this god in different parts of India; and at the annual fair on the Mahadeo hills, throws himself from a perpendicular height of four or five hundred feet, and is dashed to pieces upon the rocks below! If the youth does not feel himself quite prepared for the sacrifice on the first visit, he spends another year in pilgrimages, and returns to fulfil his mother's vow at the next fair. Some have, I believe, been known to postpone the sacrifice to a third fair; but the interval is always spent in painful pilgrimages to the celebrated temples of the god. When Sir R. Jenkins was the Governor-general's representative at the court of Nagpore, great efforts were made by him, and all the European officers under him, to put a stop to these horrors *by doing away with the fair*; and their efforts were assisted by the *cholera morbus*, which broke out among the multitude one season while they were so employed, and carried off the greater part of them. This seasonable visitation was, I believe, considered as an intimation on the part of the god, that the people ought to have been more attentive to the wishes of the *white men*, for it so happens, that Mahadeo is the only one of the Hindoo

gods who is represented with a white face. He figures among the dramatis personæ of the great pantomime of the Ramleela, or fight for the recovery of Seeta from the demon king of Ceylon; and is the only one with a white face. I know not whether the fair has ever been revived, but think not.

In 1829 the wheat and other spring crops in this and the surrounding villages were destroyed by a severe hail-storm; in 1830 they were deficient from the want of seasonable rains; and in 1831 they were destroyed by blight. During these three years the teoree, or what in other parts of India is called kesārree, (the lathyrus sativus of botanists,) a kind of wild vetch, which, though not sown of itself, is left carelessly to grow among the wheat and other grain, and given in the green and dry state to cattle, remained uninjured, and thrived with great luxuriance. In 1831 they reaped a rich crop of it from the blighted wheat fields; and subsisted upon its grain during that and the following years, giving the stalks and leaves only to their cattle. In 1833 the sad effects of this food began to manifest themselves. The younger part of the population of this and the surrounding villages, from the age of thirty downwards, began to be deprived of the use of their limbs below the waist by paralytic strokes, in all cases sudden, but in some more severe than in others. About half the youth of this village of both sexes became affected during the years 1833 and 1834; and many of them have lost the use of their lower limbs entirely, and are unable to move.

The youth of the surrounding villages, in which the teoree from the same causes formed the chief article of food during the years 1831 and 1832, have suffered in an equal degree. Since the year 1834 no new case has occurred; but no person once attacked had been found to recover the use of the limbs affected; and my tent was surrounded by great numbers of the youth in different stages of the disease, imploring my advice and assistance under this dreadful visitation. Some of them were very fine-looking young men of good caste and respectable families; and all stated, that their pains and infirmities were confined entirely to the parts below the waist. They described the attack as coming on suddenly, often while the person was asleep, and without any warning symptoms whatever; and stated, that a greater portion of the young men were attacked than of the young women. It is the prevailing opinion of the natives throughout the country, that both horses and bullocks, which have been much fed upon teoree, are liable to lose the use of their limbs; but if the poisonous qualities abound more in the grain than in the stalk or the leaves, man, who eats nothing but the grain, must be more liable to suffer from the use of this food than beasts, which eat it merely as they eat grass or hay.

I sent the son of the head man of the village and another, who were among the young people least affected, into Saugor with a letter to my friend Dr. Foley, with a request that he would try what he

could do for them; and if he had any fair prospect of being able to restore these people to the use of their limbs, that measures might be adopted through the civil authorities, to provide them with accommodation and the means of subsistence, either by private subscription or by application to government. The civil authorities, however, could find neither accommodation nor funds to maintain these people while under Dr. Foley's care; and several seasons of calamity had deprived them of the means of maintaining themselves at a distance from their families. Nor is a medical man in India provided with the means found most effectual in removing such affections, such as baths, galvanic batteries, &c. &c. It is lamentable to think how very little we have as yet done for the country in the healing art, that art which above all others a benevolent and enlightened government should encourage among the people of India.

All we have as yet done has been to provide medical attendants for our European officers, regiments, and jails. It must not, however, be supposed that the people of India are without medical advice; for there is not a town or considerable village in India without its medical practitioners, the Hindoos following the Egyptian, (Misreeanee,) and the Mussulmans the Grecian (Yoonanee) practice. The first prescribe little physic and much fasting; and the second follow the good old rules of Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna, with which they are all tolerably well acquainted. As far as the office of physician goes,

the natives of India of all classes, high and low, have much more confidence in their own practitioners than in ours—whom they consider too reckless, and better adapted to treat diseases in a cold than a hot climate. They cannot afford to give the only fees which the European physicians would accept; and they see them, in their hospital practice, trust much to their native assistants, who are very few of them able to read any book, much less to study the profound doctrines of the great masters of the science of medicine.* No native ventures to offer an opinion upon this abstruse subject in any circle where he is not known to be profoundly read in either Arabic or Sanscrit lore; nor would he venture to give a prescription without first consulting, "spectacles on nose," a book as large as a church bible. The educated class, as indeed all classes say, that they do not want our physicians, but stand much in need of our surgeons. Here they feel that they are helpless,

* One of our tent-pitchers one morning, after pitching our tent, asked the loan of a small extra one for the use of his wife, who was about to be confined. The basket-maker's wife of the village near which we were encamped was called; and the poor woman, before we had finished our breakfast, gave birth to a daughter. The charge is half a rupee, or one shilling, for a boy, and a quarter, or sixpence, for a girl. The tent-pitcher gave her ninepence, which the poor midwife thought very handsome. The mother had come fourteen miles upon a loaded cart over rough roads the night before; and went the same distance with her child the night after, upon the same cart. The first midwife in Europe could not have done her duty better than this poor basket-maker's wife did hers.

and we are strong; and they seek our aid whenever they see any chance of obtaining it as in the present case. Considering that every European gentleman they meet is more or less a surgeon, or hoping to find him so, people who are afflicted, or have children afflicted, with any kind of malformation, or mal-organization, flock round them wherever they go, and implore their aid; but implore in vain, for when they do happen to fall in with a surgeon, he is a mere passer by, without the means or the time to afford relief. In travelling over India, there is nothing which distresses a benevolent man so much as the necessity he is daily under of telling poor parents, who with aching hearts and tearful eyes approach him with their suffering children in their arms, that to relieve them requires time and means which are not at a traveller's command, or a species of knowledge which he does not possess: it is bitter thus to dash to the ground the cup of hope which our approach has raised to the lip of mother, father, and child; but he consoles himself with the prospect, that at no distant period a benevolent and enlightened government will distribute over the land those from whom the afflicted will not seek relief in vain.

CHAPTER XVI.

SUTTEE TOMBS—INSALUBRITY OF DESERTED FORTRESSES.

On the 3rd we came to Behrole,* where I had encamped with Lord William Bentinck on the last day of December, 1832, when the quicksilver in the thermometer at sunrise, outside our tents, was down to twenty-six degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer. The village stands upon a gentle swelling hill of decomposed basalt, and is surrounded by hills of the same formation. The Dussan river flows close under the village, and has two beautiful reaches, one above, the other below, separated by the dyke of basalt, over which lies the ford of the river. There are beautiful reaches of the kind in all the rivers in this part of India, and they are almost everywhere formed in the same manner. At Behrole there are a very unusual number of tombs built over the ashes of women who have burnt themselves with the remains of their husbands. Upon each tomb stands erect a tablet of freestone, with the sun, the new moon, and a rose engraved upon it in bas-relief, in

one field; and the man and woman, hand in hand, in the other. On one stone of this kind I saw a third field below these two, with the figure of a horse in bas-relief; and I asked one of the gentlemen farmers, who was riding with me, what it meant. He told me, that he thought it indicated that the widow rode on horseback to bathe before she ascended the pile. I asked him whether he thought the measure, prohibiting the practice of burning, good or bad?

"It is," said he, "in some respects good, and in others bad. Widows cannot marry among us, and those who had no prospect of a comfortable provision among their husband's relations, or who dreaded the possibility of going astray, and thereby sinking into contempt and misery, were enabled, in this way, to relieve their minds, and follow their husbands, under the full assurance of being happily united to them in the next world."

When I passed this place on horseback with Lord William, he asked me what these tombs were; for he had never seen any of the kind before. When I told him what they were, he said not a word; but he must have felt a proud consciousness of the debt of gratitude which India owes to the statesman who had the courage to put a stop to this great evil, in spite of all the fearful obstacles which bigotry and prejudice opposed to the measure. The seven European functionaries, in charge of the seven districts of the newly-acquired territories, were requested,

during the administration of Lord Amherst, in 1826, to state whether the burning of widows could or should be prohibited; and I believe every one of them declared, *that it should not!* And yet when it was put a stop to only a few years after by Lord William, not a complaint or murmur was heard. The replies to the Governor-general's inquiries were, I believe, throughout India, for the most part, opposed to the measure.

On the 24th we came to Dhamonee, ten miles. The only thing remarkable here is the magnificent fortress which is built upon a small projection of the Vindhya range, looking down on each side into two enormously deep glens, through which the two branches of the Dussan river descend over the table land into the plains of Bundelcund. The rays of the sun seldom penetrate to the bottom of these glens, and things are, in consequence, grown there that could not be grown in parts more exposed. Every inch of the level ground in the bed of the streams below, seems to be cultivated with care. This fortress is said to have cost more than a million of money; and to have been only one of fifty-two great works, of which a former Rajah of Bundelcund, Bursing Deo, laid the foundation in the same *happy hour* which had been pointed out to him by his astrologers. The works form an acute triangle, with the base towards the table land, and the two sides hanging perpendicularly over the glens; while the apex points to the course of the

streams as they again unite, and pass out through a deep chasm into the plains of Bundelcund.

The fortress is now entirely deserted, and the town, which the garrison supported, is occupied by only a small police guard, stationed here to see that robbers do not take up their abode among the ruins. There is no fear of this. All old deserted fortresses in India become filled by a dense stratum of carbonic acid gas, which is found so inimical to animal life, that those who attempt to occupy them become ill, and sooner or later almost all die of the consequences. This gas being specifically much heavier than common air, descends into the bottom of such unoccupied fortresses, and remains stagnant like water in old reservoirs. The current of pure air continually passes over, without being able to carry off the mass of stagnant air below; and the only way to render such places habitable is, to make large openings in the walls on all sides, from the top to the bottom, so that the foul air may be driven out by the current of pure atmospheric fluid, which will then be continually rushing in. When these fortresses are thickly peopled, the continual motion within tends, I think, to mix up this gas with the air above; while the numerous fires lighted within, by rarifying that below, tend to draw down a regular supply of the atmospheric air from above for the benefit of the inhabitants. When natives enter upon the occupation of an old fortress of this kind, that has remained long unoccupied, they always

make a solemn religious ceremony of it; and having fed the priests, the troops, and a crowd of followers, all rush in at once with beat of drums, and as much noise as they can make. By this rush, and the fires that follow, the bad air is perhaps driven off; and never suffered to collect again while the fortress remains fully occupied. Whatever may be the cause, the fact is certain, that these fortresses become deadly places of abode for small detachments of troops, or small parties of any kind. They all get ill, and few recover from the diseases they contract in them.

From the year 1817, when we first took possession of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, almost all the detachments of troops we required to keep at a distance from the head-quarters of their regiments, were posted in these old deserted fortifications. Our collections of revenue were deposited in them; and in some cases they were converted into jails for the accommodation of our prisoners. Of the soldiers so lodged, I do not believe that one in four ever came out well; and of those who came out ill, I do not believe that one in four survived five years. They were all abandoned one after the other; but it is painful to think how many hundreds, I may say thousands, of our brave soldiers were sacrificed, before this resolution was taken. I have known the whole of the survivors of strong detachments that went in, in robust health, three months before, brought

away mere skeletons, and in a hopeless and dying state. All were sent to their homes on medical certificate, but they almost all there, or in the course of their journey.

CHAPTER XVII.

BASALTIC CAPPINGS—INTERVIEW WITH A NATIVE CHIEF—A SINGULAR CHARACTER.

ON the 3rd, we came to the village of Sowree. Soon after leaving Dhamonee, we descended the northern face of the Vindhya range into the plains of Bundelcund. The face of this range overlooking the valley of the Nerbudda to the south, is, as I have before stated, a series of mural precipices, like so many rounded bastions, the slight dip of the strata being to the north. The northern face towards Bundelcund, on the contrary, here descends gradually, as the strata dips slightly towards the north; and we pass down gently over their back. The strata have, however, been a good deal broken, and the road was so rugged, that two of our carts broke down in descending. From the descent over the northern face of the table-land into Bundelcund, to the descent over the southern face into the valley of the Nerbudda, must be a distance of one hundred miles directly north and south. The descent over the

northern face is not everywhere so gradual; on the contrary, there are but few places where it is at all feasible; and some of the rivers of the table land, between Jubbulpore and Mirzapore, have a perpendicular fall of more than four hundred feet over these mural precipices of the northern face of the Vindhya range. A man, if he has good nerve, may hang over the summits, and suspend in his hand a plummet that shall reach the bottom.

I should mention, that this table-land is not only intersected by ranges, but everywhere studded with isolated hills rising suddenly out of basins or valleys. These ranges and isolated hills are all of the same sandstone formation, and capped with basalt, more or less amygdaloidal. The valleys and basins have often a substratum of very compact basalt, which must evidently have flowed into them after these islands were formed. The question is, how were these valleys and basins scooped out? "*Time—time—time!*" says Mr. Scrope: "grant me only time, and I can account for everything!" I think, however, that I am right in considering the basaltic cappings of these ranges and isolated hills to have once formed parts of continued flat beds of great lakes. The flat parallel planes of these cappings, corresponding with each other, however distantly separated the hills they cover may be, would seem to indicate, that they could not all have been subject to the convulsions of nature, by which the whole substrata were upheaved above the ocean. I am disposed to think,

at such islands and ranges of the sandstone were ormed before the deposit of the basalt, and that the orm of the surface is now returning to what it then was, by the gradual decomposition and wearing away of the latter rock: much, however, may be said on both sides of this, as of every other question. After descending from the sandstone of the Vindhya range into Bundelcund, we pass over basalt and basaltic soil, reposing immediately upon syenitic granite, with here and there beds and veins of pure feldspar, hornblende, and quartz.

Tukut Sing, the younger brother of Urjun Sing, the Rajah of Shahgurh, came out several miles to meet me on his elephant. Finding me on horseback, he got off from his elephant, and mounted his horse, and we rode on till we met the rajah himself, about a mile from our tents. He was on horseback, with a large and splendidly-dressed train of followers, all mounted on fine sleek horses, bred in the rajah's own stables. He was mounted on a snow-white steed of his own breeding (and I have rarely seen a finer animal) and dressed in a light suit of silver brocade, made to represent the scales of steel armour, surmounted by a gold turban. Tukut Sing was more plainly dressed, but is a much finer and more intelligent looking man. Having escorted us to our tents, they took their leave, and returned to their own, which were pitched on a rising ground on the other side of a small stream, half a mile distant. Tukut Sing resides here in a ver

pretty fortified castle, on an eminence. It is a square building with a round bastion at each corner, and one on each face, rising into towers above the walls.

A little after mid-day the rajah and his brother came to pay us a visit; and about four o'clock I went to return it, accompanied by Lieutenant Thomas. As usual he had a nautch (dance) upon carpets, spread upon the sward under awnings, in front of the pavilion, in which we were received. While the women were dancing and singing, a very fine panther was brought in to be shown to us. He had been caught, full grown, two years before; and in the hands of a skilful man was fit for the chase in six months. It was a very beautiful animal, but for the sake of the sport kept wretchedly thin. He seemed especially indifferent to the crowd and the music, but could not bear to see the woman whirling about in the dance with her red mantle floating in the breeze; and whenever his head was turned towards her he cropped his ears. She at last, in play, swept close by him, and with open mouth, he attempted to spring upon her, but was pulled back by the keeper. She gave a shriek, and nearly fell upon her back in fright. The rajah is a man of no parts or character; and his expenditure being beyond his income, he is killing his goose for the sake of her eggs—that is, he is ruining all the farmers and cultivators of his large estate by exactions; and thereby throwing immense tracts of fine land out of

tillage. He was the heir to the fortress and territory of Gurha Kotali, near Saugor, which was taken by Scindheea's army, under the command of Jean Baptiste Felose, just before our conquest in 1817. I was then with my regiment, which was commanded by Colonel, afterwards Major-general G—, a very singular character. When our surgeon, Dr. E—, received the newspaper announcing the capture of Gurhakotah, in Central India, by *Jean Baptiste*, an officer of the corps was with him, who called on the colonel on his way home, and mentioned this as a bit of news. As soon as this officer had left him, the colonel wrote off a note to the doctor—"My dear Doctor,—I understand that that fellow, *John the Baptist*, has got into Scindheea's service, and now commands an army—do send me the newspapers!" These were certainly the words of his note; and at the only time I ever heard him speak on the subject of religion, he discomfited his adversary in an argument at the mess, by, "Why, sir, you do not suppose that I believe in those fellows, Luther, Calvin, and John the Baptist, do you?"

Nothing could stand this argument. All the party burst into a laugh, which the old gentleman took for an unequivocal recognition of his victory; and his adversary was silenced. He was an old man when I first became acquainted with him. I put into his hands, when in camp, Miss Edgeworth's novels, in the hope of being able to induce him to read by degrees; and I have frequently seen the

CHAPTER XVIII.

BIRDS' NESTS—SPORTS OF BOYHOOD.

On the 6th we came to Seindpore, ten miles, over an undulating country, with a fine soil of decomposed basalt, reposing upon syenite, with veins of feldspar and quartz. Cultivation partial and very bad; and population extremely scanty. We passed close to a village, in which the children were all at play: while upon the bushes over their heads were suspended an immense number of the beautiful nests of the sagacious Baya bird, or Indian yellowhammer, all within reach of a grown-up boy, and one so near the road that a grown-up man might actually look into it as he passed along, and could hardly help shaking it. It cannot fail to strike an European as singular, to see so many birds' nests, situated close to a village, remain unmolested within reach of so many boisterous children, with their little proprietors and families fluttering and chirping among them with as great a feeling of security and gaiety of heart as the children themselves enjoy.

any part of Europe not a nest of such a colony could have lived an hour within reach of such a population; for the Baya bird has no peculiar respect paid to it by the people here like the wren and robin-redbreast in England. No boy in India has the slightest wish to molest birds in their nests; it enters not into their pastimes, and they have no feeling of pride or pleasure in it. With us it is different—to discover birds' nests is one of the first modes in which a boy exercises his powers, and displays his love of art. Upon his skill in finding them he is willing to rest his first claim to superior sagacity and enterprise. His trophies are his string of eggs; and the eggs most prized among them are those of the nests that are discovered with most difficulty, and attained with most danger. The same feeling of desire to display their skill and enterprise in search after birds' nests in early life, renders the youth of England the enemy almost of the whole animal creation throughout their after career. The boy prides himself on his dexterity in throwing a stone or a stick; and he practises on almost every animal that comes in his way, till he never sees one without the desire to knock it down, or at least to hit it; and, if it is lawful to do so, he feels it to be a most serious misfortune not to have a stone within his reach at the time. As he grows up he prides himself upon his dexterity in shooting, and he never sees a member of the feathered tribe within shot without a desire to shoot it, or without regretting

he has not a gun in his hand to shoot it. That is not entirely destitute of sympathy, however, h the animals he maims for his amusement, is fficiently manifest from his anxiety to put them t of pain the moment he gets them.

A friend of mine, now no more, Captain Medwin, was once looking with me at a beautiful landscape painting, through a glass. At last he put aside the glass, saying, "You may say what you like, S——, but the best landscape I know is a fine black partridge falling before my Joe Manton."

The following lines of Walter Scott, in his Rokeby, have always struck me as very beautiful:

"As yet the conscious pride of art,
Had steel'd him in his treacherous part:
A powerful spring of force unguessed
That hath each gentler mood suppressed,
And reigned in many a human breast;
From his that plans the rude campaign,
To his that wastes the woodland reign," &c.

Among the people of India it is very different. Children do not learn to exercise their powers either in discovering and robbing the nests of birds, or in knocking them down with stones and staves; and as they grow up they hardly ever think of hunting or shooting for mere amusement. It is with them a matter of business; the animal they cannot eat they seldom think of molesting.

Some officers were one day pursuing a jackal, with a pack of dogs, through my grounds. The

animal passed close to one of my guard, who cut him in two with his sword, and held up the reeking blade in triumph to the indignant cavalcade; who, when they came up, were ready to eat him alive.

"What have I done," said the poor man, "to offend you?"

"Have you not killed the jackal?" shouted the whipper-in, in a fury.

"Of course I have; but were you not all trying to kill him?" replied the poor man. He thought their only object had been to kill the jackal, as they would have killed a serpent, merely because he was a mischievous and noisy beast.

The European traveller in India is often in doubt whether the peacocks, partridges, and ducks, which he finds round populous villages, are tame or wild, till he asks some of the villagers themselves, so assured of safety do these creatures become, and so willing to take advantage of it for the food they find in the suburbs. They very soon find the difference, however, between the white-faced visitor, and the dark-faced inhabitants. There is a fine date tree overhanging a kind of school at the end of one of the streets in the town of Jubbulpore, quite covered with the nests of the Baya birds; and they are seen every day and all day fluttering and chirping about them in scores, while the noisy children at their play fill the street below almost within arm's length of them. I have often thought that such a tree so peopled at the door of a school in England, might work a great revo-

lution in the early habits and propensities of the youth educated in it. The European traveller is often amused to see the Pareear dog squatted close in front of the traveller, during the whole time he is occupied in cooking and eating his dinner, under a tree by the road-side, assured that he shall have at least a part of the last cake thrown to him by the stranger, instead of a stick or a stone. The stranger regards him with complacency, as one that reposes a quiet confidence in his charitable disposition, and flings towards him the whole or part of his last cake, as if his meal had put him in the best possible humour with him and all the world.

CHAPTER XIX.

FEEDING PILGRIMS—MARRIAGE OF A STONE WITH A SHRUB.

At Siedpore we encamped in a pretty little mango grove, and here I had a visit from my old friend Jankee Sawuk, the high priest of the great temple that projects into the Saugor Lake, and is called Bindrabun. He has two villages rent free, worth a thousand rupees a year; collects something more through his numerous disciples, who wander over the country; and spends the whole in feeding all the members of his fraternity, (Byragies,) devotees of Vishnoo, as they pass his temple in their pilgrimages. Every one who comes is considered entitled to a good meal and a night's lodging; and he has to feed and lodge about one hundred a day. He is a man of very pleasing manners and gentle disposition, and every body likes him. He was on his return from the town of Ludora, where he had been, at the invitation of the Rajah of Orcha, to assist at

the celebration of the marriage of *Saligram* with the *Toolsee*, which there takes place every year under the auspices, and at the expense of the Rajah, who must be present. Saligrams are rounded pebbles which contain the impression of ammonites, and are washed down into the plains of India by the rivers from the lime-stone rocks in which these shells are imbedded in the mountains of the Himmalah. The Speetee valley contains an immense deposit of fossil ammonites and bellamnites in lime-stone rocks, now elevated above sixteen thousand feet above the level of the sea; and from such beds as these are brought down the fragments, which, when rounded in their course, the poor Hindoo takes for representations of Vishnoo, the preserving God of the Hindoo triad. The Saligram is the only stone idol among the Hindoos that is *essentially sacred*, and entitled to divine honours without the ceremonies of consecration! It is everywhere held most sacred. During the war against Nepaul, Captain B., who commanded a reconnoitring party from the division in which I served, one day brought back to camp some four or five of these Saligrams, which he had found at the hut of some priest within the enemy's frontier. He called for a large stone and hammer, and proceeded to examine them. The Hindoos were all in a dreadful state of consternation, and expected to see the earth open and swallow up the whole camp, while he sat calmly cracking *their gods* with his hammer, as he would have cracked so many walnuts! The Toolsee

is a small sacred shrub (the asymum sanctum) which is a metamorphosis of Seeta, the wife of Ram, the seventh incarnation of Vishnoo.

This little *pebble* is every year married to this little *shrub*; and the high priest told me, that on the present occasion the procession consisted of eight elephants, twelve hundred camels, four thousand horses, all mounted and elegantly caparisoned. On the leading elephant of this cortège, and the most sumptuously decorated, was carried the *pebble god*, who was taken to pay his bridal visit (Barat) to the little *shrub goddess!* All the ceremonies of a regular marriage are gone through; and when completed the bride and bridegroom are left to repose together in the temple of Sudora till the next season. "Above a hundred thousand people," the priest said, "were present at the ceremony this year at the Rajah's invitation, and feasted upon his bounty." The old man and I got into a conversation upon the characters of different governments, and their effects upon the people; and he said that bad governments would sooner or later be always put down by the deity; and quoted this verse, which I took down with my pencil.

> "Toolsee Ghureeb na Sutae
> Booree Ghureeb Kee hae;
> Muree Khal Kee phoonksee
> Soha Bhussum ho jae!"

"Oh, Rajah Toolsee! oppress not the poor; for

the groans of the wretched bring retribution from heaven. The contemptible skin (in the smith's bellows) in time melts away the hardest iron."

On leaving our tents in the morning, we found the ground all round white with hoar frost, as we had found it for several mornings before; and a little canary-bird, one of the two which travelled in my wife's palankeen, having, by the carelessness of the servants, been put upon the top without any covering to the cage, was killed by the cold, to her great affliction. All attempts to restore it to life by the warmth of her bosom were fruitless.

On the 7th we came nine miles to Bumhoree over a soil still basaltic, though less rich, reposing upon syenite, which frequently rises and protrudes its head above the surface, which is partially and badly cultivated, and scantily peopled. The *silent* signs of bad government could not be more manifest! All the extensive plains, covered with fine long grass, which is rotting in the ground from want of domestic cattle or distant markets. Here, as in every other part of central India, the people have a great variety of good spontaneous, but few cultivated, grasses. They understand the character and qualities of these grasses extremely well. They find some thrive best in dry, and some in wet seasons; and that of inferior quality is often prized most because it thrives best when other kinds cannot thrive at all, from an excess or a deficiency of rain. When cut green, they all make good hay, and have the common denomination

of *Saheea.* The finest of these grasses are two, which are generally found growing spontaneously together, and are often cultivated together—kele and musele; the third, purwana; fourth, bhowar or gooneear; fifth, seyna.

CHAPTER XX.

THE MEN-TIGERS.

Ram Chund Roo, commonly called the Sureemunt, chief of Deoree, here overtook me. He came out from Saugor to visit me at Dhamoree, and not reaching that place in time came on after me. He held Deoree under the Peshwa, as the Saugor chief held Saugor, for the payment of the public establishments kept up for the local administration. It yielded him about ten thousand pounds a year, and when we took possession of the country he got an estate in the Saugor district, in rent-free tenure, estimated at fifteen hundred pounds a year. This is equal to about six thousand pounds a year in England. The tastes of native gentlemen lead them always to expend the greater part of their incomes in the wages of trains of followers of all descriptions, and in horses, elephants, &c.; and labour and the subsistence of labour are about four times cheaper in India than in England. By the breaking up of public establishments, and consequent diminution of

the local demand for agricultural produce, the value of land throughout all central India, after the termination of the Mahratta war in 1817, fell by degrees thirty per cent.; and among the rest that of my poor friend the Sureemunt. While I had the civil charge of the Saugor district, in 1831, I represented this case of hardship; and government, in the spirit of liberality which has generally characterized their measures in this part of India, made up to him the difference between what he actually received and what they had intended to give him; and he has ever since felt grateful to me. He is a very small man, not more than five feet high; but he has the handsomest face I have almost ever seen; and his manners are those of the most perfect native gentleman. He came to call upon me after breakfast, and the conversation turned upon the number of people that had of late been killed by tigers between Saugor and Deoree, his ancient capital, which lies about midway between Saugor and the Nerbudda river. One of his followers, who stood behind his chair, said, "that when a tiger had killed one man he was safe, for the spirit of the man rode upon his head, and guided him from all danger. The spirit knew very well that the tiger would be watched for many days at the place where he had committed the homicide, and always guided him off to some other more secure place, where he killed other men without any risk to himself. He did not exactly know why the spirit of the man should thus befriend the beast that had killed him; but," added

he, "there is a mischief inherent in spirits; and the better the man the more mischievous is his ghost, if means are not taken to put him to rest." This is the popular and general belief throughout India; and it is supposed, that the only sure mode of destroying a tiger, who has killed many people is, to begin by making offerings to the spirits of his victims, and thereby depriving him of their valuable services!*

The belief that men are turned into tigers by eating of a root is no less general throughout India.

The Sureemunt, on being asked by me what he thought of the matter, observed, "there was no doubt much truth in what the man said; but he was himself of opinion, that the tigers which now infest the wood from Saugor to Deoree were of a different kind—in fact, that they were neither more nor less than men turned into tigers—a thing which took place in the woods of central India much more often than people were aware of. The only visible difference between the two," added the Sureemunt, "is that the metamorphosed tiger has *no tail*, while the *bora*, or ordinary tiger, has a very long one. In the

* When Agrippina, in her rage with her son Nero, threatens to take her step-son, Britannicus, to the camp of the Legion, and there assert his right to the throne, she invokes the spirit of hi[s] father, whom she had poisoned, and the manes of the Silan[i] whom she had murdered. "Simul intendere manus, agg[erere] probra: consecratum Chaudium, infernos Silanorum manes vocare, et tot invita fari nova."—Tacitus, lib. xiii. sec. 14.

jungle about Deoree," continued he, "there is a root which, if a man eat of, he is converted into a tiger on the spot; and if in this state he can eat of another, he becomes a man again—a melancholy instance of the former of which," said he, "occurred, I am told, in my own father's family when I was an infant. His washerman, Rughoo, was, like all washermen, a great drunkard; and being seized with a violent desire to ascertain what a man felt in the state of a tiger, he went one day to the jungle and brought home two of these roots, and desired his wife to stand by with one of them, and the instant she saw him assume the tiger's shape, to thrust it into his mouth. She consented, the washerman ate his root, and became instantly a tiger; but his wife was so terrified at the sight of her old husband in this shape, that she ran off with the antidote in her hand. Poor old Rughoo took to the woods, and there ate a good many of his old friends from the neighbouring villages; but he was at last shot and recognized from the circumstance of his *having no tail.* You may be quite sure," concluded Sureemunt, "when you hear of a tiger without a tail, that it is some unfortunate man who has eaten of that root—and of all the tigers he will be found the most mischievous."

How my friend had satisfied himself of the truth of this story I know not, but he religiously believes it, and so do all his attendants and mine; and out of

a population of thirty thousand people in the town of Saugor, not one would doubt the story of the washerman if he heard it.

I was one day talking with my friend, the Rajah of Myhere, on the road between Jubbulpore and Mirzapore, on the subject of the number of men who had been lately killed by tigers at the Kutra Pass on that road, and the best means of removing the danger. "Nothing," said the Rajah, "could be more easy or more cheap than the destruction of these tigers, if they were of the ordinary sort; but the tigers that kill men by wholesale, as these do, are, you may be sure, men themselves converted into tigers by the force of their *science*; and such animals are of all the most unmanageable."

"And how is it, Rajah Sahib, that these men convert themselves into tigers?"

"Nothing," said he, "is more easy than this to persons who have once acquired the science; but how they learn it, or what it is, we unlettered men know not. There was once a high priest, of a large temple, in this very valley of Myhere, who was in the habit of getting himself converted into a tiger by the force of this science, which he had thoroughly acquired. He had a necklace, which one of his disciples used to throw over his neck the moment the tiger form became fully developed. He had, howev long given up the practice, and all his old discip had gone off on their pilgrimages to distant shri when he was one day seized with a violent desir

take his old form of the tiger. He expressed the wish to one of his new disciples, and demanded whether he thought he might rely upon his courage to stand by and put on the necklace. 'Assuredly you may,' said the disciple; 'such is my faith in you, and in the God we serve, that I fear nothing!' The high priest upon this put the necklace into his hand with the requisite instructions, and forthwith began to change his form. The disciple stood trembling in every limb, till he heard him give a roar that shook the whole edifice, when he fell flat upon his face, and dropped the necklace on the floor. The tiger bounded over him, and out at the door; and infested all the roads leading to the temple for many years afterwards."

"Do you think, Rajah Sahib, that the old high priest is one of the tigers at the Kutra Pass?"

"No, I do not; but I think that they may be all men who have become imbued with a little too much of the high priest's *science*—when men once acquire this science they can't help exercising it, though it be to their own ruin and that of others."

"But, supposing them to be ordinary tigers, what is the simple plan you propose to put a stop to their depredations, Rajah Sahib?"

"I propose," said he, "to have the spirits that guide them propitiated by proper prayers and offerings; for the spirit of every man or woman who has been killed by a tiger rides upon his head, or runs before him, and tells him where to go to get prey,

and to avoid danger. Get some of the Gonds, or wild people from the jungles, who are well skilled in these matters—give them ten or twenty rupees, and bid them go and raise a small shrine, and there sacrifice to these spirits. The Gonds will tell them that they shall, on this shrine, have regular worship, and good sacrifices of fowls, goats, and pigs, every year at least, if they will but relinquish their offices with the tigers and be quiet. If this is done, I pledge myself," said the Rajah, "that the tigers will soon get killed themselves, or cease from killing men. If they do not, you may be quite sure that they are not ordinary tigers, but men turned into tigers, or that the Gonds have appropriated all you gave them to their own use, instead of applying it to conciliate the spirits of the unfortunate people!"

CHAPTER XXI.

BURNING OF DEOREE BY A FREEBOOTER—A SUTTEE.

SUREEMUNT had been one of the few who escaped from the flames which consumed his capital of Deoree, in the month of April, 1813, and were supposed to have destroyed thirty thousand souls. I asked him to tell me how this happened, and he referred me to his attendant, a learned old pundit, Ram Chund, who stood by his side, as he was himself, he said, then only five years of age, and could recollect nothing of it."

" Murdan Sing," said the pundit, " the father of Rajah Urpin Sing, whom you saw at Seoree, was then our neighbour, reigning over Gurha Kota; and he had a worthless nephew, Zalim Sing, who had collected together an army of five thousand men, in the hope of getting a little principality for himself in the general scramble for dominion, incident upon the rise of the Pindarees and Ameer Khan, and the destruction of all balance of power among the great sovereigns of central India. He came to attack our

capital, which was an emporium of considerable trade, and the seat of many useful manufactures, in the expectation of being able to squeeze out of us a good sum to aid him in his enterprise. While his troops blocked up every gate, fire was, by accident, set to the fence of some man's garden within. There had been no rain for six months; and everything was so much dried up that the flames spread rapidly; and though there was no wind when they began, it soon blew a gale. The Sureemunt was then a little boy with his mother, in the fortress, where she lived with his father and nine other relations. The flames soon extended to the fortress, and the powder-magazine blew up. The house in which they lived was burned down, and every soul, except the lieutenant himself, perished in it. His mother tried to bear him off in her arms, but fell down in her struggle to get out with him, and died. His nurse, Toolsee the Koormin, snatched him up, and ran with him outside of the fortress to the bank of the river, where she made him over, unhurt, to Hureeram, the Murwaree merchant. He was mounted on a good horse, and making off across the river he carried him safely to his friends at Goorjamur; but poor Toolsee the Koormin fell down exhausted when she saw her charge safe, and died.

"The wind appeared to blow in upon the poor devoted city from every side; and the troops of Zalim Sing, who at first prevented the people from rushing out at the gates, made off in a panic at the horrors

CHAPTER XXI.

BURNING OF DEOREE BY A FREEBOOTER—A SUTTEE.

SUREEMUNT had been one of the few who escaped from the flames which consumed his capital of Deoree, in the month of April, 1813, and were supposed to have destroyed thirty thousand souls. I asked him to tell me how this happened, and he referred me to his attendant, a learned old pundit, Ram Chund, who stood by his side, as he was himself, he said, then only five years of age, and could recollect nothing of it."

" Murdan Sing," said the pundit, " the father of Rajah Urpin Sing, whom you saw at Seoree, was then our neighbour, reigning over Gurha Kota; and he had a worthless nephew, Zalim Sing, who had collected together an army of five thousand men, in the hope of getting a little principality for himself in the general scramble for dominion, incident upon the rise of the Pindarees and Ameer Khan, and the destruction of all balance of power among the great sovereigns of central India. He came to attack our

capital, which was an emporium of considerable trade, and the seat of many useful manufactures, in the expectation of being able to squeeze out of us a good sum to aid him in his enterprise. While his troops blocked up every gate, fire was, by accident, set to the fence of some man's garden within. There had been no rain for six months; and everything was so much dried up that the flames spread rapidly; and though there was no wind when they began, it soon blew a gale. The Sureemunt was then a little boy with his mother, in the fortress, where she lived with his father and nine other relations. The flames soon extended to the fortress, and the powder-magazine blew up. The house in which they lived was burned down, and every soul, except the lieutenant himself, perished in it. His mother tried to bear him off in her arms, but fell down in her struggle to get out with him, and died. His nurse, Toolsee the Koormin, snatched him up, and ran with him outside of the fortress to the bank of the river, where she made him over, unhurt, to Hureeram, the Murwaree merchant. He was mounted on a good horse, and making off across the river he carried him safely to his friends at Goorjamur; but poor Toolsee the Koormin fell down exhausted when she saw her charge safe, and died.

"The wind appeared to blow in upon the poor devoted city from every side; and the troops of Zalim Sing, who at first prevented the people from rushing out at the gates, made off in a panic at the horrors

before them. All our establishments had been driven into the city at the approach of Zalim Sing's troops; and scores of elephants, hundreds of camels, and thousands of horses and ponies perished in the flames, besides twenty-five thousand souls. Only about five thousand persons escaped out of thirty thousand, and these were reduced to beggary and wretchedness by the loss of their dearest relations, and their property. At the time the flames first began to spread, an immense crowd of people had assembled under the fortress on the bank of the Sonar river, to see the widow of a soldier burn herself. Her husband had been shot by one of Zalim Sing's soldiers in the morning; and before midday she was by the side of his body on the funeral pile. People, as usual, begged her to tell them what would happen; and she replied, '*the city will know in less than four hours*:' in less than four hours the whole city had been reduced to ashes; and we all concluded, that since the event was so *clearly foretold*, it must have been decreed by God!"

"No doubt it was," said Sureemunt, "how could it otherwise happen? Do not all events depend upon his will? Had it not been his will to save me, how could poor Toolsee the Koormin have carried me upon her shoulders through such a scene as this, when every other member of our family perished!"

"No doubt," said Ram Chund, "all these things are brought about by the will of God; and it is not for us to ask why."

I have heard this event described by many other

eople; and I believe the account of the old pundit o be a very fair one. One day in October, 1833, the horse of the district surgeon, Doctor Spry, as he was mounting him, reared, fell back with his head upon a stone, and died upon the spot. The doctor was not much hurt; and the little Sureemunt called a few days after, and offered his congratulations upon his narrow escape. The cause of so quiet a horse rearing at this time, when he had never been known to do so before, was discussed; and he said, "that there could be no doubt that the horse, or the doctor himself, must have seen some *unlucky face* before he mounted that morning—that he had been in many places in his life, but in none where a man was liable to see so many *ugly* or *unfortunate* faces; and, for his part, he never left his house till an hour after sunrise, lest he should encounter them!"

Many natives were present, and every one seemed to consider the Sureemunt's explanation of the cause quite satisfactory and philosophical. Some days after, Spry was going down to sleep in the bungalow where the accident happened. His native assistant, and all his servants, came and prayed that he would not attempt to sleep in the bungalow, as they were sure the horse must have been frightened by a ghost; and quoted several instances of ghosts appearing to people there. He, however, slept in the bungalow an and, to their great astonishment, saw no ghost, an suffered no evil!

CHAPTER XXII.

INTERVIEW WITH THE RAJAH WHO MARRIES THE STONE TO THE SHRUB—ORDER OF THE MOON AND THE FISH.

On the 8th, after a march of twelve miles, we reached Tehree, the present capital of the Rajah of Orcha. Our road lay over an undulating surface of soil composed of the detritus of the sienitic rock, and poor both from its quality and want of depth. About three miles from our last ground we entered the boundary of the Orcha Rajah's territory, at the village of Aslone, which has a very pretty little fortified castle, built upon a ground slightly elevated in the midst of an open grass plain. This and all the villages we have lately passed are built upon the bare back of the syenitic rock, which seems to rise to the surface in large but gentle swells, like the broad waves of the ocean in a calm after a storm. A great difference appeared to me to be observable between the minds and manners of the people among whom we were now travelling, and those of the people of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories.

They seemed here to want the urbanity and intelligence we find among our subjects in the latter quarters. The apparent stupidity of the people when questioned upon points the most interesting to them, regarding their history, their agriculture, their tanks and temples, was most provoking; and their manners seemed to me to be more rude and clownish than those of people in any other part of India I had travelled over. I asked my little friend the [illegible], who rode with me, what he thought of this.

"I think," said he, [illegible]

[illegible]

khureeta, (letter,)* requesting that I would let him know my movements, and arrange a meeting in a manner that might prevent his appearing wanting in respect and hospitality: that is, in plain terms, which he was too polite to use, that I would consent to remain one stage from his capital, till he could return and meet me halfway, with all due pomp and ceremony. These men reached me at Bumhoree, a distance of thirty-nine miles, in the evening; and I sent back a khureeta, which reached him by relays of camels before midnight. He set out for his capital to receive me; and as I would not wait to be met half way in due form, he reached his palace, and we reached our tents at the same time, under a salute from his two brass field-pieces.

We halted at Tehree on the 9th, and about eleven o'clock the Rajah came to pay his visit of congratulation, with a magnificent cortège of elephants, camels, and horses, all mounted and splendidly caparisoned, and the noise of his band was deafening. I had had both my tents pitched, and one of them handsomely fitted up, as it always is, for occasions of

* A khureeta is a letter enclosed in a bag of rich brocade, contained in another of fine muslin. The mouth is tied with a string of silk, to which hangs suspended the great seal, which is a flat round mass of sealing-wax, with the seal impressed on each side of it, thus This is the kind of letter which passes between natives of great rank in India, and between them and the public functionaries of government.

ceremony like the present. He came to within twenty paces of the door on his elephant, and from its back, as it sat down, he entered his splendid litter without alighting on the ground. In this vehicle he was brought to my tent door, where I received him; and, after the usual embraces, conducted him up through two rows of chairs, placed for his followers of distinction and my own, who are always anxious to assist in ceremonies like these.

At the head of this lane we sat upon chairs placed across, and facing down the middle of the two rows; and we conversed upon all the subjects usually introduced on such occasions; but more especially upon the august ceremonies of the marriage of the *Saligram* with the *Toolsee*, in which his highness had been so *piously* engaged at Ludora! After he had sat with me an hour and a half he took his leave; and I conducted him to the door, whence he was carried to his elephant in his litter, from which he mounted without touching the ground.

This litter is called a Nalkee. It is one of the three great insignia which the Mogul Emperors of Delhi conferred upon independent princes of the first class, and could never be used by any person upon whom, or upon whose ancestors they had not been so conferred. These were the Nalkee, the order of the Fish, and the fan of the peacock's feathers. These insignia could be used only by the prince who inherited the sovereignty of the one on whom they had been originally conferred. The order of the

fish, or Mahee Moratub, was first instituted by Khoosroo Purwez, King of Persia, and grandson of the celebrated Nowsherwan the Just. Having been deposed by his general, Behram, Khoosroo fled for protection to the Greek emperor, Maurice, whose daughter, Sheereen, he married; and he was sent back to Persia, with an army under the command of Narses, who placed him upon the throne of his ancestors in the year A. D. 591.* He ascertained from his astrologer, Aruz Khushusp, that when he ascended the throne the moon was in the constellation of the Fish, and he gave orders to have two balls made of polished steel, which were to be called Koukubas, (planets,) and mounted on long poles. These two planets, with a large fish made of gold, upon a third pole in the centre, were ordered to be carried in all regal processions immediately after the king, and before the prime minister, whose cortège always followed immediately after that of the king. The two Koukubas are now generally made of copper, and plated, and in the shape of a jar, instead of quite round, as at first; but the fish is still made of gold. Two planets are always considered necessary to one fish; and they are still carried in all processions between the prince and his prime minister.

* During the time he remained the guest of the Emperor he resided at Hierapolis, and did not visit Constantinople. The Greeks do not admit that Sheereen was the daughter of Maurice, though a Roman by birth, and a Christian by religion. The Persians and Turks speak of her as the Emperor's daughter.

The court of this Prince Khoosroo Purwez, was celebrated throughout the East for its splendour and magnificence; and the chaste love of the poet, Furhad, for his beautiful queen, Sheereen, is the theme of almost as many poems in the East, as that of Petrarch's for Laura is in the west. Noosamanee, who ascended the throne of Persia after the Sassanians, ascertained that the moon was in the sign Leo at the time of his accession, and ordered that the gold head of a lion should thenceforward accompany the fishes, and the two balls, in all royal processions. The Persian order of knighthood is, therefore, that of the Fish, the Moon, and the Lion, and not the Lion and Sun, as generally supposed. The emperors of the house of Timour, in Hindoostan, assumed the right of conferring the order upon all they pleased; and they conferred it upon the great territorial sovereigns of the country without distinction as to religion. He only who inherits the sovereignty can wear the order; and I believe no prince would venture to wear or carry the order who was not generally reputed to have received the investiture from one of the emperors of Delhi.

As I could not wait another day, it was determined that I should return his visit in the afternoon; and about four o'clock we set out upon our elephant, Lieutenant Thomas, Sureemunt, and myself, attended by all my troopers and those of Sureemunt. We had our silver-stick men with us; but still all made a sorry figure compared with the splen-

did cortège of the Rajah. We dismounted at the foot of the stairs leading to the Rajah's hall of audience, and were there met by his two chief officers of state, who conducted us to the entrance of the hall, where we were received by the Rajah himself, who led us up through two rows of chairs laid out exactly as mine had been in the morning. In front were assembled a party of native comedians, who exhibited a few scenes of the insolence of office in the attendants of great men, and the obtrusive importunity of place-seekers, in a manner that pleased us much more than a dance would have done. Conversation was kept up very well; and the visit passed off without any feeling of ennui, or any thing whatever to recollect with regret. The ladies looked at us from their apartments through gratings, and without our being able to see them very distinctly. We were anxious to see the tombs of the late Rajah, the elder brother of the present, who lately died, and that of his son, which are in progress in a very fine garden outside the city walls, and in consequence we did not sit above half an hour. The Rajah conducted us to the head of the stairs, and the same two officers attended us to the bottom, and mounted their horses and accompanied us to the tombs. After the dust of the town, raised by the immense crowd that attended us, and the ceremonies of the day, a walk in this beautiful garden was very agreeable; and I prolonged it till dark. The Rajah had given orders to have all the cisterns filled during our stay,

under the impression that we should wish to see the garden; and as soon as we entered, the jet d'eaus poured into the air their little floods from a hundred mouths. Our old cicerone told us, "that if we would take the old capital of Orcha in our way, we might there see the thing in perfection; and amidst the deluges of the rain of *Sawun* and *Bhado*, (July and August,) see the lightning and hear the thunder." The Rajahs of this, the oldest principality in Bundelcund, were all formerly buried or burned at the old capital of Orcha, even after they had changed their residence to Tehree. These tombs, over the ashes of the Rajah, his wife, and son, are the first that have been built at Tehree, where their posterity are all to repose in future.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE RAJAH OF ORCHA—MURDER OF HIS MANY MINISTERS.

THE present Rajah, Muthoora-dass, succeeded his brother, Bikurmajeet, who died in 1834. He had made over the government to his only son, Rajah Bahadur, whom he almost adored; but the young man dying some years before him, the father resumed the reins of government, and held them till his death. He was a man of considerable capacity, but of a harsh and unscrupulous character. His son resembled him; but the present Rajah is a man of mild temper and disposition, though of weak intellect. The fate of the last three prime ministers will show the character of the Rajah and his son; and the nature of their rule.

The minister at the time the old man made over the reigns of government to his son, was Khaujoo Purohut. Wishing to get rid of him a few years after, this son, Rajah Bahadur, employed Mohrum Sing, one of his feudal Rajpoot barons, to assassinate

him. As a reward for this service he received the seals of office; and the Rajah confiscated all the property of the deceased, amounting to four lacks of rupees; and resumed the whole of the estates held by the family. The young Rajah died soon after; and his father, when he resumed the reigns of government, wishing to remove the new minister, got him assassinated by Gumbeer Sing, another feudal Rajpoot baron, who, as his reward, received in his turn the seals of office. This man was a most atrocious villain, and employed the public establishments of his chief to plunder travellers on the high road. In 1833 his followers robbed four men who were carrying treasure, to the amount of ten thousand rupees, from Saugor to Jansee, through Tehree, and intended to murder them; but, by the sagacity of one of the party, and a lucky accident, they escaped, made their way back to Saugor, and complained to the magistrate. That minister discovered the nature of their burdens as they lodged at Tehree, on their way, and sent after them a party of soldiers, with orders to put them in the bed of a rivulet, that separated the territory of Orcha from that of the Jansee Rajah. One of the treasure party discovered their object; and on reaching the bank of the rivulet, in a deep grass jungle, he threw down his burden, dashed unperceived through the grass, and reached a party of travellers whom he saw ascending a hill about half a mile in advance. The myrmidons of the minister, when they found that one had escaped, were afraid

to murder the others, but took their treasure. In spite of great obstacles, and with much danger to the families of three of those men, who resided in the capital of Tehree, the magistrate of Saugor brought the crime home to the minister; and the Rajah, anxious to avail himself of the occasion to fill his coffers, got him assassinated. The Rajah was then about eighty years of age; and his minister was a strong, athletic, and brave man. One morning while he was sitting with him in private conversation, the former pretended a wish to drink some of the water in which his household god had been washed, (the Chunda mirt,*) and begged the minister to go and fetch it from the place where it stood by the side of the idol in the court of the palace. As a man cannot take his sword before the idol, the minister put it down, as the Rajah knew he would, and going to the idol, prostrated himself

* The water of the Ganges, with which the image of the god Vishnoo has been washed, is considered a very holy draught, fit for princes. That with which the image of the god Sewa, alias Mahadeo, is washed, must not be drunk. The popular belief is, that in a dispute between him and his wife, Parbuttee, alias Kalee, she cursed the person that should thenceforward dare to drink of the water that flowed over his images on earth. The river Ganges is supposed to flow from the top-knot of Sewa's head, and no one would drink of it after this curse, were it not that the sacred stream is supposed to come first from the *heel* of Vishnoo, the Preserver. All the little images of Sewa, that are made out of stones taken from the bed of the Nerbudda river, are supposed to be absolved from this curse, and water thrown upon *them* can be drunk with impunity.

before it preparatory to taking away the water. In that state he was cut down by Beearee, another feudal Rajpoot baron, who aspired to the seals, and some of his friends, who had been placed there on purpose by the Rajah. He obtained the seals by his service, and as he was allowed to place one brother in command of the forces, and to make another chamberlain, he hoped to retain them longer than any of his predecessors had done. Gumbeer Sing's brother, Jhoojhar Sing, and the husband of his sister, hearing of his murder, made off, but were soon pursued and put to death. The widows were all three put into prison, and all the property and estates were confiscated. The moveable property amounted to three lacks of rupees. The Rajah boasted to the Governor-general's representative in Bundelcund, of this act of retributive justice, and pretended that it was executed merely as a punishment for the robbery: but it was with infinite difficulty the merchants could recover from him any share of the plundered property out of that confiscated. The Rajah alleged, that, according to our *rules*, the chief, within whose boundary the robbery might have been committed, was obliged to make good the property. On inspection, it was found, that the robbery was perpetrated upon the very boundary line, and "*in spite of pride, in erring* reason's spite," the Jansee Rajah was made to pay one-half of the plundered treasure!

The old Rajah, Bikurmajeet, died in June 1834;

and though his death had been some time expected, he no sooner breathed his last than charges of *Deenaee*, slow poison, were got up as usual in the Zenana, (seraglio.) Here the widow of Rajah Bahadur, a violent and sanguinary woman, was supreme; and she persuaded the present Rajah, a weak old man, to take advantage of the funeral ceremonies, to avenge the death of his brother. He did so; and Beearee, and his three brothers, with above fifty of his relations, were murdered. The widows of the four brothers were the only members of all the families left alive. One of them had a son four months old; another one of two years; the four brothers had no other children. Immediately after the death of their husbands, the two children were snatched from their mothers' breasts, and threatened with instant death unless their mothers pointed out all their ornaments and other property. They did so; and the spoilers having got from them property to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees, and been assured that there was no more, threw the children over the high wall, by which they were dashed to pieces. The poor widows were tendered as wives to four sweepers, the lowest of all low castes; but the tribe of sweepers would not suffer any of its members to take the widows of men of such high caste and station as wives, notwithstanding the tempting offer of five hundred rupees as a present, and a village in rent free tenure! I secured a promise while at Tehree, that these poor widows should be provided

r, as they had, up to that time, been preserved by
he good feeling of a little community of the lowest
of castes, on whom they had been bestowed as a
punishment worse than death, inasmuch as it would
disgrace the whole clan to which they belonged, the
Purheear Rajpoots.

Tehree is a wretched town, without one respectable dwelling-house tenanted beyond the palace, or one merchant, or even shopkeeper of capital and credit. There are some tolerable houses unoccupied and in ruins; and there are a few neat temples built as tombs, or cenotaphs, in and around the city, if city it can be called. The stables and accommodations for all public establishments seem to be all in the same ruinous state as the dwelling-houses. The revenues of the state are spent in feeding Brahmans and religious mendicants of all kinds; and in such idle ceremonies as those at which the Rajah and all his court have just been assisting—ceremonies which concentrate for a few days the most useless of the people of India, the devotee followers (Byragees) of the god Vishnoo, and tend to no purpose, either useful or ornamental, to the state or to the people.

This marriage of a *stone* to a *shrub*, which takes place every year, is supposed to cost the Rajah, at the most moderate estimate, three lacks of rupees a-year, or one-fourth of his annual revenue.* The highest

* Wealthy Hindoos, throughout India, spend money in the same ceremonies of marrying the *stone* to the *shrub*.

officers, of which his government is composed, receive small beggarly salaries, hardly more than sufficient for their bare subsistence; and the money they make by indirect means they dare not spend like gentlemen, lest the Rajah might be tempted to take their lives in order to get hold of it. All his feudal barons are of the same tribe as himself, that is, Rajpoots; but they are divided into three clans—Bondelas, Powars, and Chundeles. A Bondela cannot marry a woman of his own clan, he must take a wife from the Powars or the Chundeles; and so of the other two clans—no member of one can take a wife from his own clan, but must go to one of the other two for her. They are very much disposed to fight with each other, but not less are they disposed to unite against any third party, not of the same tribe. Braver men do not, I believe, exist than the Rajpoots of Bundelcund, who all carry their swords from their infancy.

It may be said of the Rajpoots of Malwa and central India generally, that the Mogul Emperors of Delhi made the same use of them, that the Emperors of Germany and the Popes made of the military chiefs and classes of Europe during the middle ages. Industry and the peaceful arts being reduced to agriculture alone, under bad government or no government at all, the land remained the only thing worth appropriating; and it accordingly became appropriated by those alone who had the power to do so—by the Hindoo military classes collected

around the heads of their clans, and powerful in their union. These held it under the paramount power on the feudal tenure of military service, as militia; or it was appropriated by the paramount power itself, who let it out on allodial tenure to peaceful peasantry. The one was the Zemindaree, and the other the Malgoozaree tenure of India.* The military chiefs, essentially either soldiers or robbers, were continually fighting, either against each other, or against the peasantry, or public officers of the paramount power, like the barons of Europe; and that paramount power, or its delegates, often found that the easiest way to crush one of these refractory vassals was to put him, as such men had been put in Germany, to *the ban of the empire*, and offer his lands, his castles, and his wealth to the victor. This victor brought his own clansmen to occupy the lands and castles of the vanquished; and as these were the only things thought worth living for, the change commonly involved the utter destruction of the former occupants. The new possessors gave the name of their leader, their clan, or their former place of abode, to their new

* The paramount power often assigned a portion of its reserved lands in Jagheer to public officers for the payment of the establishments they required for the performance of the duties, military or civil, which were expected from them. Other portions were assigned in rent free tenure for services already performed, or to favourites; but in both cases the rights of the village or land-owner, or allodial proprietors, were supposed to be unaffected, as the government was presumed to assign only its own claim to a certain portion as revenue.

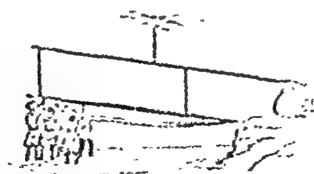
possession, and the tract of country over which they spread. Thus were founded the Bondelas, Powars, and Chundeles, upon the ruin of the Chundeles in Bundelcund, the Boghelas in Boghelcund, or Rewa, the Kuchwahas, the Sukurwars, and others along the Chumbul river, and throughout all parts of India. These classes have never learnt anything, or considered anything worth learning, but the use of the sword; and a Rajpoot chief, next to leading a gang of his own on great enterprises, delights in nothing so much as having a gang or two, under his patronage, for little ones. There is hardly a single chief, of the Hindoo military class, in the Bundelcund, or Gwalior territories, who does not keep a gang of robbers of some kind or other, and consider it as a very valuable and legitimate source of revenue; or who would not embrace with cordiality the leader of a gang of assassins by profession, who should bring him home from every expedition a good horse, a good sword, or a valuable pair of shawls, taken from their victims. It is much the same in the kingdom of Oude, where the lands are for the most part held by the same Hindoo military classes, who are in a continual state of war with each other, or with the government authorities. Three-fourths of the recruits for native infantry regiments are from this class of military agriculturists of Oude, who have been trained up in this school of contest; and many of the lads, when they enter our ranks, are found to have marks of the cold steel upon their persons.

A braver set of men is hardly anywhere to be found; or one trained up with finer feelings of devotion towards the power whose salt they eat. A good many of the other fourth of the recruits for our native infantry, are drawn from among the Oujeynee Rajpoots, or Rajpoots from Oujeyn, who were established many generations ago in the same manner at Bhajpore on the bank of the Ganges.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CORN DEALERS—SCARCITIES—FAMINES IN INDIA.

NEAR Tehree we saw the people irrigating a field of wheat from a tank, by means of a canoe, in a mode quite new to me. The surface of the water was about three feet below that of the field to be watered. The inner end of the canoe was open, and placed to the mouth of a gutter leading into the wheat-field. The outer end was closed, and suspended by a rope to the outer end of a pole, which was again suspended to cross bars, thus:



On the inner end of this pole was fixed a weight of stones sufficient to raise the canoe when filled with water; and at the outer end stood five men who

pulled down and sunk the canoe into the water as often as it was raised by the stones, and emptied into the gutter. The canoe was more curved at the outer end than ordinary canoes are; and seemed to have been made for the purpose. The lands round the town generally were watered by the Persian wheel; but where it is near the surface this I should think a better method.

On the 10th we came on to the village of Bilgaee, twelve miles over a bad soil badly cultivated; the hard syenitic rock rising either above or near to the surface all the way—in some places abruptly, in small hills, decomposing into large rounded boulders—in others slightly and gently, like the backs of whales in the ocean—in others, the whole surface of the country resembled very much the face of the sea, not after but really in a storm, full of waves of all sizes, contending with each other "in most admired disorder." After the dust of Tehree, and the fatiguing ceremonies of its court, the quiet morning I spent in this secluded spot, under the shade of some beautiful trees, with the surviving canary singing, my boy playing, and my wife sleeping off the fatigues of her journey, was to me most delightful. Henry was extremely ill when we left Jubbulpore; but the change of air, and all the other changes incident to a march, have restored him to health.

During the scarcity of 1833, two hundred people died of starvation in this village alone; and were all thrown into one large well which has, of course, ever

since remained closed. Autumn crops chiefly are cultivated; and they depend entirely on the sky for water, while the poor people of the village depend upon the returns of a single season for subsistence during the whole year. They lingered on in the hope of aid from above till the greater part had become too weak from want of food to emigrate. The Rajah gave half-a-crown to every family; but this served merely to kindle their hopes of more, and to prolong their misery. Till the people have a better government they can never be secure from frequent returns of similar calamities. Such security must depend upon a greater variety of crops, and better means of irrigation; better roads to bring supplies over from distant parts which have not suffered from the same calamities; and greater means in reserve of paying for such supplies when brought—things that can never be hoped for under a government like this, which allows no man the free enjoyment of property. Close to the village a large wall has been made to unite two small hills, and form a small lake; but the wall is formed of the rounded boulders of the syenitic rock, without cement, and does not retain the water. The land which was to have formed the bed of the lake is all in tillage; and I had some conversation with the man who cultivated it. He told me, "That the wall had been built with the money of *sin* and not the money of *piety*, (*pap* kee pysa se, na *poon* kee pysa se burra,) that the man who built it must have laid out his

money with a *worldly*, and not a *religious* mind, (neeat); that, on such occasions, men generally assembled Brahmans and other deserving people, and fed and clothed them, and thereby *consecrated* a great work, and made it acceptable to God, and he had heard from his ancestors, that the man who had built this wall had failed to do this; that the construction could never, of course, answer the purpose for which it was intended—and that the builder's name had actually been forgotten, and the work did him no good either in this world or the next!" This village, which a year or two ago was large and populous, is now reduced to two wretched huts inhabited by two very miserable families.

Bundelcund suffers more often and more severely from the want of seasonable showers of rain than any other part of India; while the province of Malwa, which adjoins it to the west and south, hardly ever suffers at all. There is a couplet, which, like all other good couplets on rural subjects, is attributed to Sehdeo, one of the five demigod brothers of the Mahabhurat, to this effect: "If you hear not the thunder on such a night, you, father, go to Malwa, I to Gozerat!" that is, there will be no rain, and we must seek subsistence where rains never fail; and the harvests are secure.

The province of Malwa is well studded with hills and groves of fine trees which intercept the clouds, as they are wafted by the prevailing westerly winds, from the gulf of Cambay to the valley of the

Ganges; and make them drop their contents upon a soil of great natural powers, formed chiefly from the detritus of the decomposing basaltic rocks, which cap and intersect these hills.

During the famine of 1833, as on all similar occasions, grain of every kind, attracted by high prices, flowed up in large streams from this favoured province towards Bundelcund; and the population of Bundelcund, as usual in such times of dearth and scarcity, flowed off towards Malwa against the stream of supply, under the assurance, that the nearer they got to the source, the greater would be their chance of employment and subsistence. Every village had its numbers of the dead and the dying; and the roads were all strewed with them; but they were mostly concentrated upon the great towns, and civil and military stations, where subscriptions were open for their support by both the European and native communities. The funds arising from these subscriptions lasted till the rains had set fairly in, when all able-bodied persons could easily find employment in tillage among the agricultural communities of villages around. After the rains have fairly set in the *sick* and *helpless* only should be kept concentrated upon large towns and stations, where little or no employment is to be found; for the oldest and youngest of those who are able to work can then easily find employment in weeding the cotton, rice, sugar-cane, and other fields under autumn crops, and in preparing the lands for the reception of the wheat,

grain, and other spring seeds; and get advances from the farmers, agricultural capitalists, and other members of the village communities, who are all glad to share their superfluities with the distressed, and to pay liberally for the little service they are able to give in return.

It is very unwise to give from such funds what may be considered a *full rate* of subsistence to able-bodied persons, as it tends to keep concentrated upon such points vast numbers who would otherwise be scattered over the surface of the country among the village communities, who would be glad to advance them stock and the means of subsistence upon the pledge of their future services when the season of tillage commences. The rate of subsistence should always be something less than what the able-bodied person usually consumes, and can get for his labour in the field. For the sick and feeble this rate will be enough, and the healthy and able-bodied, with unimpaired appetites, will seek a greater rate by the offer of their services among the farmers and cultivators of the surrounding country. By this precaution, the mass of suffering will be gradually diffused over the country, so as best to receive what the country can afford to give for its relief. As soon as the rains set in, all the able-bodied men, women, and children, should be sent off with each a good blanket, and a rupee or two as the funds can afford, to last them till they can engage themselves with the farmers. Not a farthing after that day should

be given out except to the feeble and sick, who may be considered as hospital patients.

At large places, where the greater numbers are concentrated, the scene becomes exceedingly distressing, for in spite of the best dispositions and greatest efforts on the part of government and its officers, and the European and native communities, thousands commonly die of starvation. At Saugor, mothers, as they lay in the streets unable to walk, were seen holding up their infants, and imploring the passing stranger to take them in slavery, that they might at least live—hundreds were seen creeping into gardens, court-yards, and old ruins, concealing themselves under shrubs, grass, mats, or straw, where they might die quietly, without having their bodies torn by birds and beasts before the breath had left them! Respectable families, who left home in search of the favoured land of Malwa, while yet a little property remained, finding all exhausted, took opium rather than beg, and husband, wife, and children, died in each other arms! Still more of such families lingered on in hope till all had been expended; then shut their doors, took poison, and died altogether, rather than expose their misery, and submit to the degradation of begging. All these things I have myself known and seen; and in the midst of these and a hundred other harrowing scenes which present themselves on such occasions, the European cannot fail to remark the patient resignation with which the poor people submit to their

fate; and the absence of almost all those revolting acts which have characterized the famines of which he has read in other countries—such as the living feeding on the dead, and mothers devouring their own children. No such things are witnessed in Indian famines: here all who suffer attribute the disaster to its real cause, the want of rain in due season; and indulge in no feelings of hatred against their rulers, superiors, or more fortunate equals in society, who happen to live beyond the influence of such calamities. They gratefully receive the superfluities which the more favoured are always found ready to share with the afflicted in India; and though their sufferings often subdue the strongest of all pride, the pride of caste, they rarely ever drive the people to acts of violence. The stream of emigration, guided as it always is by that of the agricultural produce flowing in from the more favoured countries, must necessarily concentrate upon the communities along the line it takes, a greater number of people than they have the means of relieving, however benevolent their dispositions; and I must say, that I have never either seen or read of a nobler spirit than seems to animate all classes of these communities in India on such distressing occasions.

In such seasons of distress we often, in India, hear of very injudicious interference with grain dealers on the part of civil and military authorities, who contrive to persuade themselves, that the interest of these corn-dealers, instead of being in accordance with the

interests of the people, are entirely opposed to them; and conclude, that whenever grain becomes dear they have a right to make them open their granaries, and sell their grain at such price as they, *in their wisdom*, may deem reasonable. If they cannot make them do this by persuasion, fine, or imprisonment, they cause their pits to be opened by their own soldiers or native officers, and the grain to be sold at their own arbitrary price. If in a hundred pits thus opened, they find one in which the corn happens to be damaged by damp, they come to the sage conclusion, that the proprietors must be what they have all along supposed them to be, and treated as such, *the common enemies of mankind*, who, blind alike to their own interests and those of the people, purchase up the superabundance of seasons of plenty, not to sell it again in seasons of scarcity, but *to destroy it*; and that the whole of the grain in the other ninety-nine pits, but for their *timely interference*, must have inevitably shared the same fate!

During the season here mentioned, grain had become very dear at Saugor, from the unusual demand in Bundelcund and other districts to the north. As usual, supplies of land produce flowed up from the Nerbudda districts along the great roads to the east and west of the city; but the military authorities in the cantonments would not be persuaded out of their dread of a famine. There were three regiments of infantry, a corps of cavalry, and two companies of artillery, cantoned at that time at Saugor. They

were a mile from the city; and the grain for their supply was exempted from town duties to which that for the city was liable. The people in cantonments got their supply, in consequence, a good deal cheaper than the people in the city got theirs; and none but persons belonging bona fide to the cantonments were ever allowed to purchase grain within them. When the dread of famine began, the commissariat officer, Major Gregory, apprehended that he might not be permitted to have recourse to the markets of the city in times of scarcity, since the people of the city had not been suffered to have recourse to those of the cantonments in times of plenty; but he was told by the magistrate, to purchase as much as he liked, since he considered every man as free to sell his grain as his cloth, or pots and pans, to whom he chose. He added that he did not share in the fears of the military authorities—that he had no apprehension whatever of a famine, for when prices rose high enough, they would be sure to divert away into the city from the streams then flowing up from the valley of the Nerbuddā, and the districts of Malwa towards Bundelcund, a supply of grain sufficient for all.

This new demand upon the city increased rapidly the price of grain, and augmented the alarm of the people, who began to urge the magistrate to listen to their prayers, and coerce the sordid corn-dealers who had, no doubt, numerous pits yet unopened. The alarm became still greater in the cantonments, where the commanding officer attributed all the evil

to the inefficiency of the commissariat, and the villany of the corn-dealers; and Major Gregory was in dread of being torn to pieces by the soldiery. Only one day's supply was left in the cantonment bazars—the troops had become clamorous almost to a state of mutiny—the people of the town began to rush in upon every supply that was offered for sale; and those who had grain to dispose of could no longer venture to expose it. The magistrate was hard pressed on all sides to have recourse to the old salutary method of searching for, and forcibly opening the grain pits, and selling the contents at such price as might appear reasonable. The cotwall of the town declared, that the lives of his police would be no longer safe unless this great and never-failing remedy, which had now unhappily been too long deferred, were immediately adopted.

The magistrate, who had already taken every other means of declaring his resolution never to suffer any man's granary to be forcibly opened, now issued a formal proclamation, pledging himself to see, that such granaries should be as much respected as any other property in the city—that every man might keep his grain and expose it for sale wherever and whenever he pleased; and expressing a hope, that, as the people knew him too well not to feel assured that his word thus solemnly pledged would never be broken, he trusted they would sell what stores they had, and apply themselves without apprehension to the collecting of more! This proclamation he showed

to Major Gregory, assuring him, that no degree of distress or clamour among the people of the city or the cantonments should ever make him violate the pledge therein given to the corn-dealers; and that he was prepared to risk his situation and reputation as a public officer upon the result. After issuing this proclamation, about noon, he had his police establishments augmented, and so placed and employed as to give to the people entire confidence in the assurances conveyed in it. The grain-dealers, no longer apprehensive of danger, opened their pits of grain, and sent off all their available means to bring in more. In the morning the bazars were all supplied; and every man who had money could buy as much as he pleased. The troops got as much as they required from the city. Major Gregory was astonished and delighted; the colonel, a fine old soldier from the banks of the Indus, who had commanded a corps of horse under the former government, came to the magistrate in amazement; every shop had become full of grain as if by supernatural agency. "Kala admee ka akul kahan tuluk chule ga," said he, "How little could a black man's wisdom serve him in such an emergency!"

There was little wisdom in all this; but there was a firm reliance upon the truth of the general principle which should guide all public officers on such occasions. The magistrate judged, that there were a great many pits of grain in the town known only to their own proprietors—who were afraid to

open them, or get more grain, while there was a chance of the civil authorities yielding to the clamours of the people and the anxiety of the officers commanding the troops; and that he had only to remove these fears, by offering a solemn pledge, and manifesting the means and the will to abide by it, in order to induce the proprietors not only to sell what they had, but to apply all their means to the collecting of more. But it is a singular fact, that almost all the officers of the cantonments thought the conduct of the magistrate, in refusing to have the grain pits opened under such pressing circumstances extremely reprehensible. Had he done so he might have given the people of the city and the cantonments the supply at hand; but the injury done to the corn-dealers by so very unwise a measure would have recoled upon the public, since every one would have been discouraged from exerting himself to renew the supply, and from laying up stores to meet similar necessities in future. By acting as he did, he not only secured for the public the best exertions of all the existing corn-dealers of the place, but actually converted for the time a great many to that trade from other employments, or from idleness. A great many families, who had never traded before, employed their means in bringing a supply of grain; and converted their dwelling-houses into corn-shops, induced by the high profits and assurance of protection. During the time when he was most pressed, the magistrate received a letter from Captain Robinson,

who was in charge of the bazars at Elichpore, in the Hydrabad territory, where the dearth had become even more felt than at Saugor, requesting to know what measures had been adopted to regulate the price, and secure the supply of grain for the city and cantonments at Saugor, since no good seemed to result from those hitherto pursued at Elichpore. He told him in reply, "That these things had hitherto been regulated at Saugor as he thought they ought to be regulated everywhere else, by being left entirely to the discretion of the corn-dealers themselves, whose self-interest will always prompt them to have a sufficient supply, as long as they may feel secure of being permitted to do what they please with what they collect. The commanding officer, in his anxiety to secure food for the people, had hitherto been continually interfering to coerce sales, and regulate prices; and continually aggravating the evils of the dearth by so doing." On the receipt of the Saugor magistrate's letter, a different course was adopted; the same assurances were given to the corn-dealers, the same ability and inclination to enforce them manifested, and the same results followed. The people and the troops were steadily supplied; and all were astonished that so very simple a remedy had not before been thought of.

The ignorance of the first principles of political economy among European gentlemen of otherwise first-rate education and abilities in India, is quite lamentable; for there are really few public officers

even in the army, who are not occasionally liable to be placed in situations where they may, by false measures, arising out of such ignorance, aggravate the evils of dearth among great bodies of their fellow-men. A soldier may, however, find some excuse for such ignorance, because a knowledge of these principles are not generally considered to form any indispensable part of a soldier's education; but no excuse can be admitted for a civil functionary who is so ignorant, since a thorough acquaintance with the principles of political economy must be, and indeed always is considered, as an essential branch of that knowledge which is to fit him for public employment in India.

In India, unfavourable seasons produce much more disastrous consequences than in Europe. In England, not more than one-fourth of the population derive their incomes from the cultivation of the lands around them. Three-fourths of the people have incomes, independent of the annual returns from those lands; and with these incomes they can purchase agricultural produce from other lands when the crops upon them fail. The farmers, who form so large a portion of the fourth class, have stock equal in value to *four times the amount of the annual rent of their lands.* They have also a great variety of crops; and it is very rare that more than one or two of them fail, or are considerably affected, the same season. If they fail in one district or province, the deficiency is very easily supplied to a people who have equiva-

lents to give for the produce of another. The sea, navigable rivers, fine roads, all are open and ready at all times for the transport of the superabundance of one quarter to supply the deficiencies of another. In India, the reverse of all this is unhappily everywhere to be found; more than three-fourths of the whole population are engaged in the cultivation of the land, and depend upon its annual returns for subsistence. The farmers and cultivators have none of them stock equal in value to more than *half the amount of the annual rents of their lands.* They have a great variety of crops; but all are exposed to the same accidents, and commonly fail at the same time. The autumn crops are sown in June and July, and ripen in October and November; and if seasonable showers do not fall during July, August, and September, all fail. The spring-crops are sown in October and November, and ripen in March; and if seasonable showers do not happen to fall during December or January, all, save what are artificially irrigated, fail. If they fail in one district or province, the people have few equivalents to offer for a supply of land produce from any other. Their roads are scarcely anywhere passable for wheeled-carriages at *any season,* and nowhere at *all seasons*—they have nowhere a navigable canal, and only in one line a navigable river. Their land produce is conveyed upon the backs of bullocks, that move at the rate of six or eight miles a day, and add one hundred per cent. to the cost of every hundred miles they carry

it in the best seasons, and more than two hundred in the worst. What in Europe is felt merely as a *dearth*, becomes in India, under all these disadvantages, a *scarcity*; and what is there a *scarcity*, becomes here a *famine*. Tens of thousands die here of starvation, under calamities of season, which in Europe would involve little of suffering to any class. Here man does everything; and he must have his daily food or starve. In England, machinery does more than three-fourths of the collective work of the society in the production, preparation, and distribution of man's physical enjoyments, and it stands in no need of this daily food to sustain its powers; they are independent of the seasons; the water, fire, air, and other elemental powers which they require to render them subservient to our use, are always available in abundance.

This machinery is the great assistant of the present generation, provided for us by the wisdom and the industry of the past; wanting no food itself, it can always provide its proprietors with the means of purchasing what they require from other countries, when the harvests of their own fail. When calamities of season deprive men of employment for a time in tillage, they can, in England, commonly find it in other branches of industry, because agricultural industry forms so small a portion of the collective industry of the nation; and because every man can, without prejudice to his *status* in society, take to what branch of industry he pleases. But when these calamities of

season throw men out of employment in tillage for a time in India, they cannot find it in any other branch, because agricultural industry forms so very large a portion of the collective industry of every part of the country; and because men are often prevented by the prejudices of caste from taking to that which they can find.

In societies constituted like that of India, the trade of the corn-dealer is more essentially necessary for the welfare of the community than in any other, for it is among them that the superabundance of seasons of plenty requires most to be stored up for seasons of scarcity; and if public functionaries will take upon themselves to seize such stores, and sell them at their own arbitrary prices, whenever prices happen to rise beyond the rate which they in their short-sighted wisdom think just, no corn-dealer will ever collect such stores. Hitherto, whenever grain has become dear at any military or civil station, we have seen the civil functionaries urged to prohibit its egress—to search for the hidden stores, and to coerce the proprietors to the sale in all manner of ways; and if they do not yield to the ignorant clamour, they are set down as indifferent to the sufferings of their fellow-creatures around them; and as blindly supporting the worst enemies of mankind, in the worst species of iniquity.

If those who urge them to such measures are asked, whether silversmiths or linendrapers, who should be treated in the same manner as they wish

the corn-dealers to be treated, would ever collect and keep stores of plate and cloths for their use, they readily answer, no; they see at once the evil effects of interfering with the free disposal of the property of the one, but are totally blind to that which must as surely follow any interference with that of the other, whose entire freedom is of so much more vital importance to the public. There was a time, and that not very remote, when grave historians, like Smollett, could even in England fan the flame of their vulgar prejudice against one of the most useful classes of society. That day is, thank God, passed; and no man can now venture to write such trash in his history, or even utter it in any well-informed circle of English society; and if any man were to broach such a subject in an English House of Commons, he would be considered as a fit subject for a madhouse.

But some who retain their prejudices against corn-dealers, and are yet ashamed to acknowledge their ignorance of the principles of political economy, try to persuade themselves and their friends, that however applicable these may be to the state of society in European or christian countries, they are not so to countries occupied by Hindoos and Mahomedans! This is a sad delusion; and may be a very mischievous one when indulged by public officers in India.

CHAPTER XXV.

EPIDEMIC DISEASES—SCAPE-GOAT.

In the evening, after my conversation with the cultivator, upon the wall that united the two hills, I received a visit from my little friend the Sureemunt. His fine rose-coloured turban is always put on very gracefully; every hair of his jet-black eyebrows and mustachios seems to be kept always most religiously in the same place; and he has always the same charming smile upon his little face, which was never, I believe, distorted into an absolute laugh or frown. No man was ever more perfectly master of what the natives call "the art of *rising* and *sitting*"—"*Nishust* or *Burkhaust*"—namely, good manners. I should as soon expect to see him set the Nerbudda on fire as commit any infringement of the *convenances* on this head established in good Indian society, or be guilty of anything vulgar in speech, sentiment, or manners. I asked him by what means it was that the old queen of Saugor drove out the influenza that

afflicted the people so much in 1832, while he was there on a visit to me. He told me, "that he took no part in the ceremonies, nor was he aware of them till awoke one night by the noise, when his attendants informed him that the queen and the greater part of the city were making offerings to the new god, Hurdoul Lala. He found next morning that a goat had been offered up with as much noise as possible, and with good effect, for the disease was found to give way from that moment. About six years before, when great numbers were dying in his own little capital of Pithooreea, from a similar epidemic, he had he said tried the same thing with still greater effect; but, on that occasion, he had had the aid of a man very learned in such matters. This man caused a small carriage to be made up after a plan of his own, for a *pair of scape-goats*, which were harnessed to it, and driven during the ceremonies to a wood some distance from the town, where they were let loose. From that hour the disease entirely ceased in the town. The goats never returned: "had they come back," said Sureemunt, "the disease must have come back with them; so he took them a long way into the wood—indeed, he believed, the man, to make sure of them, had afterwards caused them to be offered up as a sacrifice, to the shrine of Hurdoul Lala, in that very wood! He had himself never seen a *pooja,* religious ceremony, so entirely and immediately efficacious as this, and much of its success was, no doubt, attributable to the *science* of the man

who planned the carriage, and himself drove the pair of goats to the wood! No one had ever before heard of the plan of a pair of *scape-goats* being driven in a carriage; but it was likely, he thought, to be extensively adopted in future."

Sureemunt's man of affairs mentioned, "that when Lord Hastings took the field against the Pindarees, in 1817, and the division of the grand army under his command was encamped near the grove in Bundelcund, where repose the ashes of Hurdoul Lala, under a small shrine, a cow was taken into this grove to be converted into beef for the use of the Europeans. The priest in attendance remonstrated, but in vain—the cow was killed and eaten. The priest complained, and from that day the cholera morbus broke out in the camp; and from this central point it was, he said, generally understood to have spread all over India.* The story of the cow travelled at the same time, and the spirit of Hurdoul Lala was everywhere supposed to be riding in the whirlwind and *directing the storm!* Temples were everywhere erected, and offerings made to appease

* The people in the Saugor territories used to show several decayed mango trees in groves where European troops had encamped during the campaigns of 1816 and 1817, and declare that they had been seen to wither from the day that beef, for the use of these troops, had been tied to their branches. The only coincidence was in the decay of the trees, and the encamping of the troops in the groves—that the withering trees were those to which the beef had been tied, was of course taken for granted!

him; and in less than six years after, he had himself seen them as far as Lohore, and in almost every village throughout the whole course of his journey to that distant capital and back." He is one of the most sensible and freely spoken men that I have met with. "Up to within the last few years," added he, "the spirit of Hurdoul Lala had been propitiated only in cases of cholera morbus; but now he is supposed to preside over all kinds of epidemic diseases, and offerings have everywhere been made to his shrine during late influenzas."

"This of course arises," I observed, "from the industry of his priests, who are now spread all over the country; and you know that there is hardly a village or hamlet in which there are not some of them to be found subsisting upon the fears of the people."

"I have no doubt," replied he, "that the cures which the people attribute to the spirit of Hurdoul Lala often arise merely from the firmness of their faith (Itakad) in the efficacy of their offerings; and that any other ceremonies that should give to their minds the same assurance of recovery, would be of great advantage in cases of epidemic diseases. I remember a singular instance of this," said he. "When Jeswunt Rao Hoolkar was flying before Lord Lake to the banks of the Hyphases, a poor trooper of one of his lordship's irregular corps, when he tied the grain-bag to his horse's mouth, said, 'Take this in the name of Jeswunt Rao Hoolkar, for to him you and I owe all that we have!' The poor man

had been suffering from a severe attack of ague and fever; but from that moment he felt himself relieved, and the fever never returned. At that time this fever prevailed more generally among the people of Hindoostan than any I have ever known, though I am now an old man. The speech of the trooper, and the supposed result, soon spread; and others tried the experiment with similar success; and it acted everywhere like a charm. I had the fever myself, and though by no means a superstitious man, and certainly no lover of Jeswunt Rao Hoolkar, I tried the experiment, and the fever left me from that day. From that time, till the epidemic disappeared, no man, from the Nerbudda to the Indus, fed his horse without invoking the spirit of Jeswunt Rao, though the chief was then alive and well. Some one had said he found great relief from plunging into the stream during the paroxysms of the fever; others followed the example, and some remained for half an hour at a time, and the sufferers generally found relief. The streams and tanks throughout the districts between the Ganges and the Jumna became crowded, till the propitiatory offering to the spirit of the living Jeswunt Rao Hoolkar were found equally good, and far less troublesome to those who had horses that must have got their grain, whether in Hoolkar's name or not."

There is no doubt that the great mass of those who had nothing but their horses and their *good blades* to depend upon for their subsistence, did most fervently

pray, throughout India, for the safety of this Mahratta chief, when he fled before Lord Lake's army; for they considered, that with his fall the Company's dominion would become everywhere securely established, and that good soldiers would be at a discount! "*Company ka amul men kooch roozgar nuheen hy*;"—"there is no employment in the Company's dominion," is a common maxim, not only among the men of the sword and the spear, but among those merchants who lived by supporting native, civil, and military establishments, with the luxuries and elegancies which, under the new order of things, they have no longer the means to enjoy.

The noisy poojah, (worship,) about which our conversation began, took place at Saugor in April, 1832, while I was at that station. More than four-fifths of the people of the city and cantonments had been affected by a violent influenza, which commenced with a distressing cough, was followed by fever, and in some cases terminated in death. I had an application from the old Queen Dowager of Saugor, who received a pension of ten thousand pounds a year from the British government, and resided in the city, to allow of a *noisy* religious procession, to implore deliverance from this great calamity. Men, women, and children, in this procession, were to do their utmost to add to the noise by "raising their voices in *psalmody*," beating upon their brass pots and pans with all their might, and discharging fire-arms where they could get them; and before the noisy crowd

was to be driven a buffalo, which had been purchased by a general subscription, in order that every family might participate in the merit. They were to follow it out eight miles, where it was to be turned loose for any man who would take it. If the animal returned, the disease, it was said, must return with it, and the ceremony be performed over again. I was requested to intimate the circumstance to the officer commanding the troops in cantonments, in order that the hideous noise they intended to make might not excite any alarm, and bring down upon them the visit of the soldiery. It was, however, subsequently determined, that the animal should be a goat; and he was driven before the crowd accordingly. I have on several occasions been requested to allow of such noisy poojahs in cases of epidemics; *and the confidence the people feel in their efficacy* has no doubt a good effect.

While in civil charge of the district of Nursingpore, in the valley of the Nerbudda, in April, 1823, the cholera morbus raged in almost every house of the towns of Nursingpore and Kundelee, situated near each other, and one of them close to my dwelling-house and court. The European physicians lost all confidence in their prescriptions, and the people declared that the hand of God was upon them, and by appeasing him could they alone hope to be saved. A religious procession was determined upon; but the population of both towns were divided upon the point, whether a *silent* or a *noisy* one would be most

acceptable to God. Hundreds were dying around me when I was applied to, to settle this *knotty point* between the parties. I found that both in point of numbers and respectability the majority was in favour of the silent procession, and I recommended that this should be adopted. The procession took place about nine the same night, with all due ceremony; but the advocates for noise would none of them assist in it. Strange as it may appear, the disease abated from that moment; and the great majority of the population of both towns believed that their prayers had been heard; and I went to bed with a mind somewhat relieved by the hope, that this feeling of confidence might be useful. About one o'clock I was awoke from a sound sleep by the most hideous noise that I had ever heard; and not at that moment recollecting the proposal for the noisy procession, ran out of my house, in expectation of seeing both towns in flames. I found that the advocates for noise, resolving to have their procession, had assembled together about midnight; and apprehensive that they might be borne down by the advocates for silence, and my police establishments, had determined to make the most of their time, and put in requisition all the pots, pans, shells, trumpets, pistols, and muskets that they could muster! All opened at once about one o'clock; and had there been any virtue in discord, the cholera must soon have deserted the place, for such another hideous compound of noises I never heard. The disease,

which seemed to have subsided with the silent procession before I went to bed, now returned with double violence, as I was assured by numbers who flocked to my house in terror; and the whole population became exasperated with the leaders of the noisy faction, who had, they believed, been the means of bringing back among them all the horrors of this dreadful scourge!

I asked the Hindoo Sudder Ameer, or head native judicial officer at Saugor, a very profound Sanscrit scholar, what he thought of the efficacy of these processions in checking epidemic diseases. He said, "that there could be nothing more clear than the total inefficiency of medicine in such cases; and when medicine failed, a man's only resource was in prayers: that the *diseases of mankind* were to be classed under three general heads; first, those suffered for sins committed in some former births; second, those suffered for sins committed in the present birth; third, those merely accidental. Now," said the old gentleman, "it must be clear to every unprejudiced mind, that the third only can be cured or checked by the physician!" Epidemics, he thought, must all be classed under the second head, and as inflicted by the Deity for some very general sin; consequently, to be removed only by prayers; and whether silent or noisy, was, he thought, matter of little importance, provided they were offered in the same spirit. I believe that among the great mass of the people of India, three-fourths of the diseases

of individuals are attributed to evil spirits, and evil eyes; and for every physician among them there are certainly ten *exorcisers!* The faith in them is very great and very general; and as the gift is supposed to be supernatural, it is commonly exercised without fee or reward. The gifted person subsists upon some other employment, and *exorcises* gratis. A child of one of our servants was one day in convulsions from its sufferings in cutting its teeth. The civil surgeon happened to call that morning, and he offered to lance the child's gums. The poor mother thanked him; but stated, "that there could be no possible doubt as to the source of her child's sufferings—that the *devil* had got into it during the night, and would certainly not be frightened out by his little lancet; but she expected back every moment my old tent-pitcher, whose exorcisms no devil of this description had ever yet been able to withstand!"

The small-pox had been raging in the town of Jubbulpore for some time during one hot season that I was there, and a great many children had died from it. The severity of the disease was considered to have been a good deal augmented by a very untoward circumstance that had taken place in the family of the principal banker of the town, Khoshal Chund. Sewa Ram Seith, the old man, had lately died, leaving two sons, Ram Kishen, the eldest, and Khoshal Chund, the second. The eldest gave up all the management of the sublunary concerns of the family, and devoted his mind entirely to religious duties.

They had a very fine family temple of their own, in which they placed an image of their god Víshnoo, cut out of the choicest stone of the Nerbudda, and consecrated, after the most approved form, and with very expensive ceremonies. This idol, Ram Kishen used every day to wash with his own hands with rose-water, and anoint with precious ointments. One day, while he had the image in his arms, and was busily employed in anointing it, it fell to the ground upon the stone pavement, and one of the arms was broken. To live after such an untoward accident was quite out of the question, and poor Ram Kishen proceeded at once quietly to hang himself! He got a rope from the stable, and having tied it over the beam in the room where he had let the gód fall upon the stone-pavement, he was putting his head calmly into the noose, when his brother came in, laid hold of him, called for assistance, and put him under restraint. A conclave of the priests of that sect was immediately held in the town, and Ram Kishen was told that hanging himself was not absolutely necessary—that it might do if he would take the stone image, broken arm and all, upon his own back, and carry it two hundred and sixty miles to Benares, where resided the high priest of the sect, who would, no doubt, be able to suggest the proper measures for pacifying the god.

At this time, the only son of his brother Khoshal Chund, an interesting little boy of about four years of age, was extremely ill of the small-pox; and it is

a rule with Hindoos never to undertake any journey, even one of pilgrimage to a holy shrine, while any member of the family is afflicted with this disease; they must all sit at home clothed in sackcloth and ashes. He was told that he had better defer his journey to Benares till the child should recover; but he could neither sleep nor eat, so great was his terror, lest some dreadful calamity should befall the whole family before he could expiate his crime, or take the advice of his high priest, as to the best means of doing it; and he resolved to leave the decision of the question to God himself! He took two pieces of paper, and having caused Benares to be written upon one, and Jubbulpore upon the other, he put them both into a brass vessel. After shaking the vessel well, he drew forth that on which Benares had been written. "It is the will of God!" said Ram Kishen! All the family who were interested in the preservation of the poor boy, implored him not to set out, lest Davey, who presides over small-pox, should become angry. It was all in vain! He would set out with his household god; and unable to carry it himself, he put it into a small litter upon a pole, and hired a bearer to carry it at one end, while he supported it at the other. His brother, Khoshal Chund, sent his second wife, at the same time, with offerings for Davey, to ward off the effects of his brother's rashness from his child. By the time the brother had got with his god to Adhartal, three miles from Jubbulpore, on the road to Benares, he heard

of the death of his nephew; but he seemed not to feel this slight blow in his terror of the dreadful but undefined calamity which he felt to be impending over him and the whole family, and he trotted on his road. Soon after an infant son of their uncle died of the same disease; and the whole town became at once divided into two parties—those who held that the children had been killed by Davey as a punishment for Ram Kishen's presuming to leave Jubbulpore before they recovered; and those who held that they were killed by the god Vishnoo himself, for having been so rudely deprived of one of his arms. Khoshal Chund's wife sickened on the road, and died on reaching Mirzapore, of fever; and as Davey was supposed to have nothing to do with fevers, this event greatly augmented the advocates of Vishnoo. It is a rule with Hindoos to bury, and not to burn, the bodies of those who die of the small-pox; "for," say they, "the small-pox is not only caused by the goddess Davey, but is, in fact, *Davey herself*; and to burn the body of the person affected with this disease is, in reality, neither more nor less than *to burn the goddess!*"

Khoshal Chund was strongly urged to bury, and not burn his child, particularly as it was usual with Hindoos to bury infants and children of that age, of whatever disease they might die; but he insisted upon having his boy burned with all due pomp and ceremony, and burned he was accordingly. From that moment, it is said, the disease began to rage

with increased violence throughout the town of Jubbulpore. At least one half of the children affected had before survived; but from that hour at least three out of four died: and instead of the condolence which he expected from his fellow-citizens, poor Khoshal Chund—a very amiable and worthy man—received nothing but their execrations for bringing down so many calamities upon their heads; first, by maltreating his own god, and then by setting fire to theirs!

I had a few days after a visit from Gungadhur Row, the Sudder Ameer, or head native judicial officer of this district, whose father had been for a short time the ruler of the district, under the former government; and I asked him whether the small-pox had diminished in the town since the rains had now set in. He told me that he thought it had; but that a great many children had been taken off by the disease.

"I understand, Row Sahib, that Khoshal Chund, the banker, is supposed to have augmented the virulence of the disease by burning his boy: was it so?"

"Certainly!" said my friend, with a grave, long face; "the disease was much increased by this man's folly!"

I looked very grave in my turn, and he continued.

"Not a child escaped after he had burned his boy. Such incredible folly! To set fire to the *goddess* in the midst of a population of twenty thousand souls; it might have brought destruction upon us all!"

"What makes you think that the disease is itself the goddess?"

"Because we always say, when any member of a family becomes attacked by the small-pox, 'Davey Nikulee;' that is, Davey has shown herself in that family, or in that individual. And the person affected can wear nothing but plain white clothing—not a silken or coloured garment, nor an ornament of any kind; nor can he or any of his family undertake a journey, or participate in any kind of rejoicings, lest he give offence to her! They broke the arm of their god; and he drove them all mad. The elder brother set out on a journey with it, and his nephew, cousin, and sister-in-law fell victims to his temerity; and then Khoshal Chund brings down the goddess upon the whole community by burning his boy! No doubt he was very fond of his child—so we all are—and wished to do him all honour; but some regard is surely due to the people around us, and I told him so when he was making preparations for the funeral: but he would not listen to reason!"

A complicated religious code, like that of the Hindoos, is to the priest, what a complicated civil code, like that of the English, is to the lawyer. A Hindoo can do nothing without consulting his priest; and an Englishman can do nothing without consulting his lawyer!

CHAPTER XXVI.

ARTIFICIAL LAKES IN BUNDELCUND—HINDOO, GREEK, AND ROMAN FAITH.

On the 11th we came on twelve miles to the town of Bumhoree, whence extends, to the south-west, a ridge of high and bare quartz hills, towering above all others, curling and foaming at the top, like a wave ready to burst, when suddenly arrested by the hand of Omnipotence, and turned into white stone. The soil all the way is wretchedly poor in quality, being formed of the detritus of sienitic and quartz rocks, and very thin. Bumhoree is a nice little town, beautifully situated on the bank of a fine lake, the waters of which preserved during the late famine the population of this and six other small towns, which are situated near its borders, and have their lands irrigated from it. Besides water for their fields, this lake yielded the people abundance of water-chesnuts and fish. In the dryest season the water has been found sufficient to supply the wants of all the people

of these towns and villages, and those of all the country around, as far as the people can avail themselves of it. This large lake is formed by an artificial bank or wall, at the south-east end, which rests *one arm upon the high range of* white quartz rocks, which runs along its south-west side for several miles, looking down into the clear deep water, and forming a beautiful landscape.

From this pretty town, Sodora, where the great marriage had lately taken place, was in sight, and only four miles distant. It was, I learnt, the residence of the present Rajah of Orcha, before the death of his brother called him to the throne. Many people were returning from the ceremonies of the marriage of *Saligram* with *Toolsee;* who told me that the concourse had been immense—at least one hundred and fifty thousand; and that the Rajah had feasted them all for four days during the progress of the ceremonies, but that they were obliged to defray their expenses going and coming, except when they came by special invitation, to do honour to the occasion, as in the case of my little friend the Saugor high priest, Jankee Sewuk. They told me that they called this festival the Dhunuk Jug; and that Junuk Raj, the father of Seeta, had in his possession the Dhunuck, or immortal bow of Pursoram, the sixth incarnation of Vishnoo, with which he exterminated all the Kshatryas, or original military class of India, and which required no less

than four thousand men to raise it on one end.* The prince offered his daughter in marriage to any man who should bend this bow. Hundreds of heroes and demigods aspired to the hand of the fair *Seeta*, and essayed to bend the bow; but all in vain, till young Ram, the seventh incarnation of Vishnoo, then a lad of only ten years of age, came; and at the touch of his great toe the bow flew into a thousand pieces, which are supposed to have been all taken up into heaven! Seeta became the wife of Ram; and the popular poem of the Ramaen describes the abduction of the heroine by the monster king of Ceylon, Rawun; and her recovery by means of the monkey General Hunnooman. Every word of this poem the people assured me was written, if not by the hand of the Deity himself, at least by his inspiration, which was the same thing, and it must, consequently, be true.†

* The tradition is, that a prince of this military class was sporting in a river with his thousand wives, when Renuka, the wife of Jamadagni, went to bring water. He offended her, and her husband cursed the prince, but was put to death by him. His son, Pursoram, was no less a person than the sixth incarnation of Vishnoo, who had assumed the human shape merely to destroy these tyrants. He vowed, now that his mother had been insulted and his father killed, not to leave one on the face of the earth. He destroyed them all twenty-one times, the women with child producing a new race each time.

† When Ram set out with his army for Ceylon, he is supposed to have worshipped the little tree called Cheonkul, which stood near his capital of Ajoodheea. It is a wretched little thing, between a shrub and a tree; but I have seen a procession of

Ninety-nine out of a hundred, among the Hindoos, implicitly believe, not only every word of this poem, but every word of every poem that has ever been written in Sanscrit. If you ask a man whether he really believes any very egregious absurdity quoted from these books, he replies with the greatest *naiveté* in the world, "Is it not written in the book; and how should it be there written if not true?" The Hindoo religion reposes upon an entire prostration of mind, that continual and habitual surrender of the reasoning faculties, which *we* are accustomed to make occasionally, while engaged at the theatre, or in the perusal of works of fiction. We allow the scenes, characters, and incidents to pass before "our *mind's eye*," and move our feelings, without asking, or stopping a moment to ask, whether they are real or true. There is only this difference, that with people of education among us, even in such short intervals of illusion or *abandon*, any extravagance in the acting, or flagrant improbability in the fiction, destroys the charm, breaks the spell by which we have been so mysteriously bound, stops the smooth current of sympathetic emotion, and restores us to reason and to the realities of ordinary life. With the Hindoos, on the contrary, the greater the improbability, the more monstrous and preposterous the fiction, the greater is the charm it has over their

more than seventy thousand persons attend their prince to the worship of it on the festival of the Dasehra, which is held in celebration of this expedition to Ceylon.

minds; and the greater their learning in the Sanscrit the more are they under the influence of this charm. Believing all to be written by the Deity, or by his inspirations, and the men and things of former days to have been very different from the men and things of the present day, and the heroes of these fables to have been demi-gods, or people endowed with powers far superior to those of the ordinary men of their own day, the analogies of nature are never for a moment considered; nor do questions of probability, or possibility, according to those analogies, ever obtrude to dispel the charm with which they are so pleasingly bound. They go on through life reading and talking of these monstrous fictions, which shock the taste and understanding of other nations, without once questioning the truth of one single incident, or hearing it questioned. There was a time, and that not very distant, when it was the same in England, and in every other European nation; and there are, I am afraid, some parts of Europe where it is so still. But the Hindoo faith, so far as religious questions are concerned, is not more capacious or absurd than that of the Greeks and Romans in the days of Socrates and Cicero—the only difference is, that among the Hindoos a greater number of the questions which interest mankind are brought under the head of religion.

There is nothing in the Hindoos more absurd than the *piety* of Tiberius in offering up sacrifices in the temple, and before the image of Augustus, while he

was solicited by all the great cities of the empire, to suffer temples to be built and sacrifices to be made to himself while still living; or than Alexander's attempt to make a goddess of his mother, while yet alive, that he might feel the more secure of being made a *god* himself after his death. In all religions there are points at which the professors declare that *reason* must stop, and cease to be a guide to *faith*. The pious man thinks, that all which he cannot comprehend or reconcile to reason in his own religion, must be *above* it. The superstitions of the people of India will diminish before the spread of science, arts, and literature; and good works of history and fiction would, I think, make far greater havoc among these superstitions even than good works in any of the sciences, save the physical, such as astronomy, chemistry, &c.

In the evening we went out with the intention of making an excursion on the lake, in boats that had been prepared for our reception, by tying three or four fishing canoes together; but on reaching the ridge of quartz hills, which runs along the south-east side, we preferred moving along its summit to entering the boats. The prospect on either side of this ridge was truly beautiful. A noble sheet of clear water, about four miles long by two broad, on our right, and on our left a no less noble sheet of rich wheat cultivation, irrigated from the lake by drains passing between small breaks in the ridges of the hills. The Persian wheel is used to raise the water. This sheet of rich cultivation is beautifully studded

with mango groves and fields of sugar-cane. The lake is almost double the size of that of Saugor, and the idea of its great utility for purposes of irrigation, made it appear to me far more beautiful; but my little friend the Sureemunt, who accompanied us in our walk, said, "that it could not be so handsome, since it had not a fine city and castle on two sides, and a fine government house on the third."

"But," said I, "no man's field is watered from that lake!"

"No," replied he, "but for every man that drinks of the waters of this, fifty drink of the waters of that; from that lake thirty thousand people get '*aram*' (comfort) every day!"

This lake is called Kewlus, after Kewal Brim, the Chundelee prince by whom it was formed. His palace, now in ruins, stood on the top of the ridge of rocks in a very beautiful situation. From the summit, about eight miles to the west, we could see a still larger lake, called the Nundunwara Lake, extending under a similar range of quartz hills running parallel with that on which we stood. That lake, we were told, answered upon a much larger scale the same admirable purpose of supplying water for the fields, and securing the people from the dreadful effects of droughts. The extensive level plains through which the rivers of central India generally cut their way have, for the most part, been the beds of immense natural lakes; and these rivers sink so deep into these beds, and leave such ghastly chasms

and ravines on either side, that their waters are hardly ever available in due season for irrigation. It is this characteristic of the rivers of central India that makes such lakes so valuable to the people, particularly in seasons of drought. The river Nerbudda has been known to rise seventy feet, in the course of a couple of days, in the rains; and during the season, when its waters are wanted for irrigation, they can no where be found within that of the surface; while a level piece of ground fit for irrigation is rarely to be met with within a mile of the stream.

The people appeared to improve as we advanced farther into Bundelcund in appearance, manners, and intelligence. There is a bold bearing about the Bondelas, which at first one is apt to take for rudeness or impudence, but which in time he finds not to be so. The employés of the Raja were everywhere attentive, frank, and polite; and the peasantry seemed no longer inferior to those of our Saugor and Nerbudda territories. The females of almost all the villages through which we passed came out with their *kullus* in procession to meet us—one of the most affecting marks of respect from the peasantry to their rulers or their superiors that I know. One woman carries on her head a brass jug, brightly polished, full of water; while all the other families of the village crowd around her, and sing in chorus some rural song, that lasts from the time the respected visitor comes in sight, till he disappears. He usually puts into the *kullus* a rupee, to pur-

chase goor, (coarse sugar,) of which all the females partake, as a sacred offering made to the sex. No member of the other sex presumes to partake of it; and during the chorus all the men stand aloof in respectful silence. This custom prevails all over India, or over all parts of it that I have seen; and yet I have witnessed a governor-general of India with all his suite, passing by this interesting group without knowing or asking what it was. I lingered behind, and quietly put my silver into the jug as if from the Governor-general.

The man who administers the government over these seven villages in all its branches civil, criminal, and fiscal, receives a salary of only two hundred rupees a year! He collects the revenues on the part of government; and, with the assistance of the heads and the elders of the villages, adjusts all petty matters of dispute among the people, both civil and criminal. Disputes of a more serious character are sent to be adjusted at the capital by the Rajah and his ministers. The person who reigns over the seven villages of the lake, is about thirty years of age, of the Rajpoot caste, and I think one of the finest young men I have ever seen. His ancestors have served the Orcha state in the same station for seven generations; and he tells me, that he hopes his posterity will serve them for as many more, provided they do not forfeit their claims to do so by their infidelity or incapacity. This young man seemed to have the respect and the affection of every

member of the little communities of the villages through which we passed; and it was evident, that he deserved their attachment. I have rarely seen any similar signs of attachment to one of our own native officers. This arises chiefly from the circumstance of their being less frequently placed in authority among those upon whose good feelings and opinions their welfare and comfort, or those of their children, are likely *permanently* to depend. In India, under native rule, office became hereditary, because officers expended the whole of their incomes in religious ceremonies, or works of ornament and utility, and left their families in hopeless dependence upon the chief in whose service they had laboured all their lives, while they had been educating their sons exclusively with the view to their serving that chief *in the same capacity that their fathers had served* him before them. It is in this case and this alone that the law of primogeniture is in force in India. Among Mahomedans, as well as Hindoos, all property, real and personal, is divided equally among the children; but the duties of an office will not admit of the same subdivision; and this therefore when hereditary, as it often is, descends to the eldest son with the obligation of providing for the rest of the family. The family consists of all the members who remain united to the parent stock, including the widows and orphans of the sons or brothers who were so up to the time of their death.*

* But it is only the smaller local, ministerial officers who are secure in their tenure of office under native governments; those

The old Chobdar, or silver-stick bearer, who came with us from the Rajah, gets fifteen rupees a month; and his ancestors have served the Rajah for several generations. The Deewan who has charge of the treasury receives only one thousand rupees a year, and the Bakshee, or paymaster of the army, who seems at present to rule the state as the prime favourite, the same. These latter are at present the only two great officers of state; and though they are no doubt realizing handsome incomes by indirect means, they dare not make any display lest signs of wealth might induce the Rajah or his successors to treat them as their predecessors in office were treated for some time past. The Jageerdars, or feudal chiefs, as I have before stated, are almost all of the same family or clan as the Rajah; and they spend all the revenues of their estates in the maintenance of military retainers, upon whose courage and fidelity they can generally rely. These Jageerdars are bound to attend the prince on all great occasions, and at certain intervals; and are made to contribute something to his exchequer in tribute. Almost all live beyond their legitimate means, and make up the deficiency by maintaining upon their estates gangs of thieves, robbers, and murderers, who extend their depredations into the countries around; and share

on whose efficiency the well-being of village communities depends. The greatest evils of governments of the kind is the feeling of insecurity in such tenures which pervades all the higher officers of government; and the instability of all engagements made by the government with them; and by them with the people.

the prey with these chiefs and their officers, and under-tenants. They keep them as *poachers* keep their *dogs;* and the paramount power, whose subjects they plunder, might as well ask them for the best horse in the stable as for the best thief that lives under their protection!*

I should mention an incident that occurred during the Rajah's visit to me at Tehree. Lieutenant Thomas was sitting next to the little Sureemunt, and during the interview he asked him to allow him to look at his beautiful little gold-hilted sword. The Sureemunt held it fast, and told him, that he should do himself the honour of waiting upon him in his tent in the course of the day, when he would show him the sword, and tell him its history. After the Rajah left me, Thomas mentioned this, and said he felt very much hurt at the incivility of my little friend; but I told him, that he was in everything he did and said so perfectly the gentleman, that I felt quite sure he would explain all to his satisfaction when he called upon him. During his visit to Thomas he apologized for not having given over his sword to him, and said, "You European gentlemen have such perfect confidence in each other, that

* In the Gualior territory, the Mahratta amils, or governors of districts, do the same, and keep gangs of robbers on purpose to plunder their neighbours; and if you ask them for their thieves, they will actually tell you, that to part with them would be ruin, as they are their only defence against the thieves of their neighbours!

exclaimed, "That he felt exactly as if he were always falling down a well," meaning if he were immersed in cold water. He said, "That the cold season was suited only to gentlemen who could afford to be well clothed; but, to a poor man like himself, and the great mass of people, in Bundelcund at least, the hot season was much better." He told me, "That the late Rajah, though a harsh was thought to be a just man;* and that his good sense, and above all his *good fortune*, (Ikbal,) had preserved the principality entire; but that God only, and the forbearance of the honourable company, could now save it under such an imbecile as the present chief." He seemed quite melancholy at the thought of living to see this principality, the oldest in Bundelcund, lose its independence. Even this poor, unclothed, and starving wretch had a feeling of patriotism: a *pride of country*, though that country had been so wretchedly governed, and was now desolated by a famine.

Just such a feeling had the impressed seaman who fought our battles in the great struggle. No nation has ever had a more disgraceful institution than that of the press-gang of England. This institution, if so it can be called, must be an eternal stain upon her glory —posterity will never be able to read the history of her naval victories without a blush—without reproach-

* My poor guide had as little of sympathy with the prime ministers, whom the Tehree Rajah put to death, as the peasantry of England had with the great men and women whom Harry the Eighth sacrificed.

ing the lawgivers who could allow them to be purchased with the blood of such men as those who fought for us the battles of the Nile and Trafalgar. "*England expected every man to do his duty* on that day;" but had England done her duty to every man who was on that day to fight for her?—was not every English gentleman of the lords and commons a David sending his Uriah to battle?

The intellectual stock which we require in good seamen for our navy, and which is acquired in scenes of peril "upon the high and giddy mast," is as much their property as that which other men acquire in schools and colleges; and we had *no more* right to seize and employ these seamen in our battles upon the wages of common, uninstructed labour, than we should have had to seize and employ as many clergymen, barristers, and physicians. When I have stood on the quarter-deck of a ship in a storm, and seen the seamen covering the yards in taking in sail, with the thunder rolling and the lightning flashing fearfully around them—the sea covered with foam, and each succeeding billow, as it rushed by, seeming ready to sweep them all from the frail footing into the fathomless abyss below—I have asked myself, "Are men like these to be seized like common felons—torn from their wives and children, as soon as they reach their native land—subjected every day to the lash, and put in front of those battles on which the wealth, the honour, and the independence of the nation depend, merely because British legislators know, that

when there, a regard for their own personal character among their companions in danger, will make them fight like Englishmen!" This feeling of nationality which exists in the little states of Bundelcund, arises from the circumstance, that the mass of the land-holders are of the same clan as the chief Bondelas; and that the public establishments of the state are recruited almost exclusively from that mass. The states of Thausee and Jalone are the only exceptions. There the rulers are Brahmans and not Rajpoots, and they recruit their public establishments from all classes, and all countries. The landed aristocracy, however, there as elsewhere, are Rajpoots, either Powars, Chundeles, or Bondelas.

The Rajpoot landholders of Bundelcund are linked to the soil in all their grades from the prince to the peasant, as the Highlanders of Scotland were not long ago; and the holder of a hundred acres is as proud as the holder of a million. He boasts the same descent, and the same exclusive possession of arms and agriculture, to which unhappily the industry of their little territories is almost exclusively confined, for no other branch can grow up among so turbulent a set, whose quarrels with their chiefs or among each other are constantly involving them in civil wars, which render life and property exceedingly insecure. Besides, as I have stated, their propensity to keep bands of thieves, robbers, and murderers in their baronial castles, as poachers keep their dogs, has scared away the wealthy and respect-

able capitalist, and peaceful and industrious manufacturer.

All the landholders are uneducated, and unfit to serve in any of our civil establishments, or in those of any very civilized governments; and they are just as unfitted to serve in our military establishments, where strict discipline is required. The lands they occupy are cultivated because they depend almost entirely upon the rents they get from them for subsistence; and because every petty chief and his family hold their lands rent free, or at a trifling quit-rent on the tenure of military service, and their residue forms all the market for land produce which the cultivators require. They dread the transfer of the rule to our government, because they now form almost exclusively all the establishments of their domestic chief, civil as well as military, and know, that were our rule to be substituted they would be almost entirely excluded from these, at least for a generation or two. In our regiments, horse or foot, there is hardly a man from Bundelcund for the reasons above stated; nor are there any in the Gualior regiments and contingents, which are stationed in the neighbourhood, though the land among them is become minutely subdivided, and they are obliged to seek service or starve. They are all too proud for manual labour, even at the plough. No Bundelcund Rajpoot will, I believe, condescend to put his hand to one.

Among the Mahratta states, Seiks and Mahome-

dans there is no bond of union of this kind. The establishments, military as well as civil, are everywhere among them composed for the most part of foreigners; and the landed interests under such governments would dread nothing from the prospect of a transfer to our rule; on the contrary, they and the mass of the people would almost everywhere hail it as a blessing.

There are two reasons why we should leave these small native states under their own chiefs, even when the claim to the succession is feeble or defective; first, because it tends to relieve the minds of other native chiefs from the apprehension, already too prevalent among them, that we desire by degrees to absorb them all, because we think our government would do better for the people; and secondly, because, by leaving them as a contrast, we afford to the people of India the opportunity of observing the superior advantages of our rule.

"'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view" in governments as well as in landscapes; and if the people of India, instead of the living proofs of what perilous things native governments, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, are in reality, were acquainted with nothing but such pictures of them as are to be found in their historiesand in the imaginations of their priests and learned men, (who lose much of their influence and importance under our rule,) they would certainly, with proneness like theirs to delight in the marvellous, be far from satisfied, as they now are, that they never

had a government so good as ours, and that they never could hope for another so good were ours removed.

For the advantages which we derive from leaving them independent, we are, no doubt, obliged to pay a heavy penalty in the plunder of our wealthy native subjects by the gangs of robbers of all descriptions whom they foster; but this evil may be greatly diminished by a judicious interposition of our authority to put down such bands.

In Bundelcund, at present, the government and the lands of the native chiefs are in the hands of three of the Hindoo military classes, Bundelas, Dhundelas, and Powars. The principal chiefs are of the first, and their feudatories are chiefly of the other two. A Bundela cannot marry the daughter of a Bundela; he must take his wife from one or other of the other two tribes; nor can a member of the other two take his wife from his own tribe, he must take her from the Bundelas, or the other tribe. The wives of the greatest chiefs are commonly from the poorest families of their vassals; nor does the proud family from which he has been taken feel itself exalted by the alliance; neither does the poorest vassal among the Powars and Dhundels feel that the daughter of his prince has condescended in becoming his wife. All they expect is a service for a few more yeomen of the family among the retainers of the sovereign.

The people are in this manner, from the prince to the peasant, indissolubly linked to each other, and to

the soil they occupy; for where industry is confined almost exclusively to agriculture, the proprietors of the soil and the officers of government who are maintained out of its rents, constitute nearly the whole of the middle and higher classes. About one-half of the lands of every state are held on service-tenure by vassals of the same family or clan as the chief; and there is hardly one of them who is not connected with that chief by marriage. The revenue derived from the other half is spent in the maintenance of establishments formed almost exclusively of the members of these families.

They are none of them educated for civil offices under any other rule, nor could they for a generation or two be induced to submit to wear military uniform, or learn the drill of regular soldiers. They are mere militia, brave as men can be, but unsusceptible of discipline. They have, therefore, a natural horror at the thought of their states coming under any other than a domestic rate, for they would have no chance of employment in the civil or military establishments of a foreign power; and their lands would, they fear, be resumed, since the service for which they had been given would be no longer available to the new rulers. It is said, that in the long interval from the commencement of the reign of Alexander the Third to the end of that of David the Second, not a single baron could be found in Scotland able to sign his own name. The Bundelcund barons have never, I believe, been quite so bad

as this, though they have never yet learned enough to fit them for civil offices under us. Many of them can write and read their own language, which is that common to the other countries around them.

Bundelcund was formerly possessed by another tribe of Rajpoots, the proud Chundales, who have now disappeared altogether from this province. If one of that tribe can still be found, it is in the humblest rank of the peasant or the soldier; but its former strength is indicated by the magnificent artificial lakes and ruined castles which are traced to them; and by the reverence which is still felt by the present dominant classes of their old capital of Mahoba. Within a certain distance around that ruined city no one now dares to beat the nagara, or great drum used in festivals or processions, lest the spirits of the old Chundale chiefs, who there repose, should be roused to vengeance; and a kingdom could not tempt one of the Bundelas, Powars, or Chundales, to accept the government of the parish in which it is situated. They will take subordinate offices there under others *with fear and trembling;* but nothing could induce one of them to meet the governor. When the deadly struggle between these tribes took place cannot now be discovered. In the time of Akbar, the Chundales were powerful in Mahoba, as the celebrated Dhurghoutee, the queen of Gurhee Mundula, whose reign extended over the Saugor and Nerbudda territories and the greater part of Berar, was a daughter of the reigning Chundale prince of

Mahoba. He condescended to give his daughter only on condition that the Gond prince who demanded her should, to save his character, come with an army of fifty thousand men to take her. He did so, and "nothing loth," Dhurghoutee departed to reign over a country where her name is now more revered than that of any other sovereign it has ever had. She was killed above two-hundred and fifty years ago, about twelve miles from Jubbulpore while gallantly leading on her troops in their third and last attempt to stem the torrent of Mahomedan invasion. Her tomb is still to be seen where she fell, in a narrow defile between two hills; and a pair *of large rounded stones which stand near, are, according* to popular belief, her royal drums turned into stone, which, in the dead of the night, are still heard resounding through the woods, and calling the spirits of her warriors from their thousand graves around her. The travellers who pass this solitary spot, respectfully place upon the tomb the prettiest specimen they can find of the crystals which abound in the neighbourhood; and with so much of kindly feelings had the history of Dhurghoutee inspired me, that I could not resist the temptation of adding one to the number when I visited her tomb some sixteen years ago.

I should mention that the Rajah of Sumpter, in Bundelcund, is by caste a Gojur; and he has not yet any landed aristocracy like that of the Bundelas about him. One of his ancestors, not long ago, seized

upon a fine open plain, and built a fort upon it; an the family has ever since, by means of this fort, kep possession of the country around, and drawn part o their revenues from depredations upon their neigh bours and travellers. The Jhausee and Jhalon chiefs are Brahmans of the same family as th Peshwa.

In the states governed by chiefs of the militar classes, nearly the whole produce of the land goes t maintain soldiers, or military retainers, who are alway ready to fight or rob for their chief. In those governed by chiefs of the Brahmanical class, nearl the whole produce goes to maintain priests; and the other chiefs would soon devour them, as the black ants devour the white, were not the paramount power to interpose and save them. While the Peshwa lived he interposed; but all his dominions *were running into priesthood*, like those in Saugor and Bundelcund; and must soon have been swallowed up by the military chiefs around him had we not taken his place. Jhalone and Jhausee are preserved only by us, for with all their religions it is impossible for them to maintain efficient military establishments; and the Bundela chiefs have always a strong desire to eat them up, since these states were all sliced out of their principalities when the Peshwa was all powerful in Hindoostan.

The Chutturpore rajah is a Powar. His father had been in the service of the Bundela rajah; but when we entered upon our duties as the paramount

power in Bundelcund, the son had succeeded to the little principality seized upon by his father; and on the principle of respecting actual possession, he was recognized by us as the sovereign. The Bundela Rajahs, east of the Dussan river, are descended from Rajah Chuttursaul, and are looked down upon by the Bundela Rajahs of Orcha, Chunderee, and Duttua, west of the Dussan, as Chuttursaul was in the service of one of their ancestors, from whom he wrested the estates which his descendants now enjoy. Chuttursaul, in his will, gave one-third of the dominion he had thus acquired, to the strongest power then in India, the Peshwa, in order to secure the other two-thirds to his two sons, Hirdeo Sa and Jugut Raj, in the same manner as princes of the Roman empire used to bequeath a portion of theirs to the emperor. Of the Peshwa's share we have now got all except Jhalone. Thause was subsequently acquired by the Peshwa; or rather by his subordinates with his sanction and assistance.

CHAPTER XXVII.

BLIGHTS.

I HAD a visit from my little friend the Sureemunt, and the conversation turned upon the causes and effects of the dreadful blight to which the wheat-crops in the Nerbudda districts had of late years been subject. He said that "the people at first attributed this great calamity to an increase in the crime of adultery which had followed the introduction of our rule, and which," he said, "was understood to follow it everywhere; that afterwards it was by most people attributed to our frequent measurement of the land, and inspection of fields, with a view to estimate their capabilities to pay; which the people considered a kind of *incest*, and which he himself, the Deity, can never tolerate. The land is," said he, "considered as the *mother* of the prince or chief who holds it—the great parent from whom he derives all that maintains him—his family and his establishments. If well treated she yields this in abundance to her son; but if he presumes to look upon her with the eye of *desire*, she ceases to be fruitful; or the Deity sends down hail or blight to destroy all that she

yields! The measuring the surface of the fields, and the frequently inspecting the crops by the chief himself, or by his immediate agents, were considered by the people in this light; and in consequence he never ventured upon those things. They were," he thought, " fully satisfied that we did it more with a view to distribute the burthen of taxation equally upon the people than to increase it collectively: still," he thought, " that either we should not do it at all, or delegate the duty to inferior agents, whose close inspection of the great *parent* could not be so displeasing to the Deity." *

Ram Chund Pundit said, " that there was no doubt much truth in what Sureemunt Sahib had stated; that the crops of late had unquestionably suffered from the constant measuring going on upon the lands; but that the people, as he knew, had now become unanimous in attributing the calamities of season, under which these districts had been suffering so much, to the *eating of beef*—this was," he thought, " the great source of all their sufferings!"

Sureemunt declared, " that he thought his Pundit was right, and that it would, no doubt, be of great advantage to them and to their rulers if government could be prevailed upon to prohibit the eating of beef—that so great and so general were the sufferings of the people from these calamities of seasons,

* We are told in 2 Samuel, chap. xxiv., that the Deity was displeased at a census of the people, taken by Joab by the order of David, and destroyed of the people of Israel seventy thousand, besides women and children.

and so firm, and now so general the opinion, that they arose chiefly from the practice of killing and eating cows, that in spite of all the other superior blessings of our rule, the people were almost beginning to wish their old Mahratta rulers in power again."

I reminded him of the still greater calamities the people of Bundelcund had been suffering under.

"True," said he, "but among them there are crimes enough of every day occurrence to account for these things; but under your rule the Deity has only one or other of these three things to be offended with; and of these three it must be admitted, that the eating of beef so near the sacred stream of the Nerbudda is the worst!"

The blight of which we were speaking had for several seasons, from the year 1829, destroyed the greater part of the wheat-crops over extensive districts along the line of the Nerbudda, and through Malwa generally; and old people stated, that they recollected two returns of this calamity, at intervals of from twenty to twenty-four years. The pores with which the stalks are abundantly supplied to admit of their readily taking up the aqueous particles that float in the air, seem to be more open in an easterly wind than in any other; and when this wind prevails at the same time that the air is filled with the farina of the small parasitic fungus, whose depredations on the corn constitute what they call the rust, mildew, or blight, the particles penetrate into these pores, speedily sprout and spread their small roots

into the cellular texture, where they intercept and feed on the sap in its ascent; and the grain in the ear, deprived of its nourishment, becomes shrivelled, and the whole crop is often not worth the reaping. It is at first of a light, beautiful orange colour, and found chiefly upon the ulsee, (linseed,) which it does not seem much to injure; but about the end of February the fungi ripen, and shed their seeds rapidly; and they are taken up by the wind, and carried over the corn-fields. I have sometimes seen the air tinted of an orange-colour for many days by the quantity of these seeds which it has contained; and that without the wheat-crops suffering at all, when any but an easterly wind has prevailed: but when the air is so charged with this farina, let but an easterly wind blow for twenty-four hours, and all the wheat-crops under its influence are destroyed—nothing can save them! The stalks and leaves become first of an orange-colour, from the light colour of the farina which adheres to them; but this changes to deep brown. All that part of the stalk that is exposed seems as if it had been pricked with needles, and had exuded blood from every puncture; and the grain in the ear withers in proportion to the number of fungi that intercept and feed upon its sap; but the parts of the stalk that are covered by the leaves remain entirely uninjured; and when the leaves are drawn off from them, they form a beautiful contrast to the others, which have been exposed to the depredations of these parasitic plants.

Every pore, it is said, may contain from twenty to

forty of these plants, and each plant may shed a hundred seeds, so that a single shrub, infected with the disease, may disseminate it over the face of a whole district; for in the warm month of March, when the wheat is attaining maturity, these plants ripen and shed their seeds in a week; and, consequently, increase with enormous rapidity, when they find plants with their pores open ready to receive and nourish them. I went over a rich sheet of wheat cultivation in the district of Jubbulpore, in January, 1836, which appeared to me devoted to inevitable destruction. It was intersected by slips and fields of ulsee, which *the cultivators often sow along the borders of their* wheat-fields, which are exposed to the road, to prevent trespass. All this ulsee had become of a beautiful light orange-colour from these fungi; and the cultivators, who had had every field destroyed the year before by the same plant, surrounded my tent in despair, imploring me to tell them of some remedy. I knew of none; but as the ulsee is not a very valuable plant, I recommended them, as their only chance, to pull it all up by the roots, and fling it into large tanks that were everywhere to be found. They did so, and no ulsee was *intentionally* left in the district, for, like drowning men catching at a straw, they caught everywhere at the little gleam of hope that my suggestion seemed to offer. Not a field of wheat was that season injured in the district of Jubbulpore; but I was soon satisfied that my suggestion had had nothing whatever to do with their escape, for not a single stalk of the wheat was, I

believe, affected; while *some* stalks of the affected ulsee must have been left by accident. Besides, in several of the adjoining districts, where the ulsee remained in the ground, the wheat escaped. I found that about the time when the blight usually attacks the wheat, westerly winds prevailed, and that it never blew from the east for many hours together. The common belief among the natives was, that the prevalence of an east wind was necessary to give full effect to the attack of this disease, though they none of them pretended to know anything of its *modus operandi*—indeed they considered the blight to be a demon, which was to be driven off only by prayers and sacrifices.

It is worthy of remark, that hardly anything suffered from the attacks of these fungi but the wheat. The ulsee upon which it always first made its appearance, suffered something certainly, but not much, though the stems and leaves were covered with them. The grain (cicer arietinum) suffered still less—indeed the grain in this plant often remained uninjured, while the stems and leaves were covered with the fungi, in the midst of fields of wheat that were entirely destroyed by ravages of the same kind. None of the other pulses were injured, though situated in the same manner in the midst of the fields of wheat that were destroyed. I have seen rich fields of uninterrupted wheat cultivation for twenty miles by ten, in the valley of the Nerbudda, so entirely destroyed by this disease, that the people would not go to the trouble of gathering one field in four, for the stalks

forty of these plants, and each plant may shed a hundred seeds, so that a single shrub, infected with the disease, may disseminate it over the face of a whole district; for in the warm month of March, when the wheat is attaining maturity, these plants ripen and shed their seeds in a week; and, consequently, increase with enormous rapidity, when they find plants with their pores open ready to receive and nourish them. I went over a rich sheet of wheat cultivation in the district of Jubbulpore, in January, 1836, which appeared to me devoted to inevitable destruction. It was intersected by slips and fields of ulsee, which the cultivators often sow along the borders of their wheat-fields, which are exposed to the road, to prevent trespass. All this ulsee had become of a beautiful light orange colour from these fungi; and the cultivators, who had had every field destroyed the year before by the same plant, surrounded my tent in despair, imploring me to tell them of some remedy. I knew of none; but as the ulsee is not a very valuable plant, I recommended them, as their only chance, to pull it all up by the roots, and fling it into large tanks that were everywhere to be found. They did so, and no ulsee was *intentionally* left in the district, for, like drowning men catching at a straw, they caught everywhere at the little gleam of hope that my suggestion seemed to offer. Not a field of wheat was that season injured in the district of Jubbulpore; but I was soon satisfied that my suggestion had had nothing whatever to do with their escape, for not a single stalk of the wheat was, I

believe, affected; while *some* stalks of the affected ulsee must have been left by accident. Besides, in several of the adjoining districts, where the ulsee remained in the ground, the wheat escaped. I found that about the time when the blight usually attacks the wheat, westerly winds prevailed, and that it never blew from the east for many hours together. The common belief among the natives was, that the prevalence of an east wind was necessary to give full effect to the attack of this disease, though they none of them pretended to know anything of its *modus operandi*—indeed they considered the blight to be a demon, which was to be driven off only by prayers and sacrifices.

It is worthy of remark, that hardly anything suffered from the attacks of these fungi but the wheat. The ulsee upon which it always first made its appearance, suffered something certainly, but not much, though the stems and leaves were covered with them. The grain (cicer arietinum) suffered still less—indeed the grain in this plant often remained uninjured, while the stems and leaves were covered with the fungi, in the midst of fields of wheat that were entirely destroyed by ravages of the same kind. None of the other pulses were injured, though situated in the same manner in the midst of the fields of wheat that were destroyed. I have seen rich fields of uninterrupted wheat cultivation for twenty miles by ten, in the valley of the Nerbudda, so entirely destroyed by this disease, that the people would not go to the trouble of gathering one field in four, for the stalks

and the leaves were so much injured that they were considered as unfit or unsafe for fodder; and during the same season its ravages were equally felt in the districts along the table lands of the Vindhya range north of the valley, and I believe those upon the Sathpore range, south. The last time I saw this blight was in March, 1832, in the Saugor district, where its ravages were very great, but partial; and I kept bundles of the blighted wheat hanging up in my house, for the inspection of the curious, till the beginning of 1835.

When I assumed charge of the district of Saugor, in 1831, the opinion among the farmers and land-holders generally was, that the calamities of season under which they had been suffering were attributable to the increase of *adultery*, arising, as they thought, from our indifference, as we seemed to treat it as a matter of little importance; whereas it had always been considered, under former governments, as a case of *life and death*. The husband or his friends waited till they caught the offending parties together in criminal correspondence, and then put them both to death; and the death of one pair generally acted, they thought, as a kind of sedative upon the evil passions of a whole district for a year or two. Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than our laws for the punishment of adultery in India, where the Mahomedan criminal code has been followed, though the people subjected to it are not one-tenth Mahomedans. This law was enacted by Mahomed, on the occasion of his favourite wife, Aesha, being found

under very suspicious circumstances with another man. A special direction from heaven required that four witnesses should swear positively to the *fact.* Aesha and her paramour were of course acquitted; and the witnesses being less than four, received the same punishment which would have been inflicted upon the criminals, had the fact been proved by the direct testimony of the prescribed number—that is, eighty stripes of the kora, almost equal to a sentence of death. (See Koran, chap. xxiv. and chap. iv.) This became the law among all Mahomedans. Aesha's father succeeded Mahomed, and Omur succeeded Aboo Bakur. Soon after his accession to the throne, Omur had to sit in judgment upon Mogheera, a companion of the prophet, the governor of Busara, who had been accidentally seen in an awkward position with a lady of rank, by four men while they sat in an adjoining apartment. The door or window which concealed the criminal parties was flung open by the wind, at the time when they wished it most to remain closed. Three of the four men swore directly to the point. Mogheera was Omur's favourite, and had been appointed to the government by him. Zeead, the brother of one of the three who had sworn to the fact, hesitated to swear to the *entire fact.*

"I think," said Omur, "that I see before me a man whom God would not make the means of disgracing one of the companions of the holy prophet."

Zeead then described, circumstantially, the most

unequivocal position that was, perhaps, ever described in a public court of justice; but still hesitating to swear to the entire completion of the crime, the criminals were acquitted, and his brother and the two others received the punishment prescribed. This decision of the *Brutus of his age* and country settled the law of evidence in these matters; and no Mahommedan judge would now give a verdict against any person charged with adultery, without the four witnesses to the *entire fact*. No man hopes for a conviction for this crime in our courts; and as he would have to drag his wife or paramour through no less than three—that of the police officer, the magistrate, and the judge—to seek it, he has recourse to poison, either secretly or with his wife's consent. She will commonly rather die than be turned out into the streets a degraded outcast. The seducer escapes with impunity; while his victim suffers all that human nature is capable of enduring. Where husbands are in the habit of poisoning their guilty wives from the want of *legal* means of redress, they will sometimes poison those who are suspected upon insufficient grounds. No magistrate ever hopes to get a conviction in the judges' court, if he commits a criminal for trial on this charge, (under Regulation 17, of 1817,) and therefore he never does commit. Regulation 7, of 1819, authorises a magistrate to punish any person convicted of enticing away a wife or unmarried daughter for another's use; and an indignant functionary may sometimes feel disposed to

stretch a point, that the guilty man may not altogether escape.

Redress for these wrongs is never sought in our courts, because they can never hope to get it. But it is a great mistake to suppose that the people of India want a heavier punishment for the crime than we are disposed to inflict—all they want is a fair chance of conviction upon such reasonable proof as cases of this nature admit of, and such a measure of punishment as shall make it appear that their rulers think the crime a serious one, and that they are disposed to protect them from it. Sometimes the poorest man would refuse pecuniary compensation; but generally husbands of the poorer classes would be glad to get what the heads of their caste or circle of society might consider sufficient to defray the expenses of a second marriage. They do not dare to live in adultery—they would be outcasts if they did; they must be married according to the forms of their caste; and it is reasonable that the seducer of the wife should be obliged to defray the costs of the injured husband's second marriage. The rich will, of course, always refuse such a compensation, but a law declaring the man convicted of this crime liable to imprisonment in irons at hard labour for two years, but entitled to his discharge within that time on an application from the injured husband, or father, would be extremely popular throughout India. The poor man would make the application when assured of the sum which the

elders of his caste consider sufficient; and they would take into consideration the means of the offender to pay. The woman is sufficiently punished by her degraded condition. The teitwa of a Mahomedan law officer should be dispensed with in such cases.

In 1832 the people began to search for other causes. The frequent measurements of the land, with a view to equalize the assessments, were thought of; even the operations of the *trigonometrical* survey, which were then making a great noise in central India, where their fires were seen every night burning upon the peaks of the highest ranges, were supposed to have had some share in exasperating the Deity; and the services of the most holy Brahmans were put in requisition, to exorcise the peaks from which the engineers had taken their angels, the moment their instruments were removed. In many places, to the great annoyance and consternation of the engineers, the land-marks which they had left, to enable them to correct their work as they advanced, were found to have been removed during their short intervals of absence, and they were obliged to do their work over again. The priests encouraged the disposition on the part of the peasantry to believe, that men who required to do their work by the aid of fires lighted in the dead of the night upon *high places*, and work which no one but themselves seemed able to comprehend, must hold communion with supernatural beings—a communion which they thought might be displeasing to the Deity.

At last, in the year 1833, a very holy Brahman, who lived in his cloister, near the iron suspension-bridge over the Beeose river, ten miles from Saugor, sat down with a determination to *wrestle with the Deity* till he should be compelled to reveal to him the real cause of all those calamities of season under which the people were groaning. After three days and nights of fasting and prayer, he saw a vision which stood before him in a white mantle, and told him, that all these calamities arose from the slaughter of cows—and that under former governments this practice had been strictly prohibited, and the returns of the harvest had, in consequence, been always abundant, and subsistence cheap, in spite of invasion from without, insurrections within, and a good deal of misrule and oppression on the part of the local government. The holy man was enjoined by the vision to make this revelation known to the constituted authorities, and to persuade the people generally throughout the district, to join in the petition for the prohibition of *beef eating* throughout our Nerbudda territories. He got a good many of the most respectable of the landholders around him, and explained the wishes of the vision of the preceding night. A petition was soon drawn up and signed by many hundreds of the most respectable people in the district, and presented to the Governor-general's representative in these parts, Mr. F. C. Smith. Others were presented to the civil authorities of the district, and all stating in the most respectful terms, "how

sensible the people were of the inestimable benefits of our rule, and how grateful they all felt for the protection to life and property, and to the free employment of all their advantages, which they had under it; and for the frequent and large reductions in the assessments, and remission in the demand on account of calamities of seasons. These, they stated, were all that government could do to relieve a suffering people, but they had all proved unavailing; and yet under this truly paternal rule the people were suffering more than under any former government in its worst period of misrule—the hand of an *incensed God* was upon them; and as they had now at last, after many fruitless attempts, discovered the real cause of this anger of the Deity, they trusted that we would listen to their prayers, and restore plenty and all its blessings to the country by prohibiting the *eating of beef!* All these dreadful evils had, they said, unquestionably originated in the (Sudder Bazar) great market of the cantonments, where, for the first time, within one hundred miles of the sacred stream of the Nerbudda, men had purchased and eaten cows' flesh!

These people were all much attached to us, and to our rule, and were many of them on the most intimate terms of social intercourse with us; and at the time they signed this petition, were entirely satisfied that they had discovered the real cause of all their sufferings, and impressed with the idea that we should be convinced, and grant their prayers.

The day is past. Beef continued to be eaten with undiminished appetite—the blight, nevertheless, disappeared, and every other sign of vengeance from above; and the people are now, I believe, satisfied that they were mistaken! They still think that the lands do not yield so many returns of the seed under us as under former rulers; that they have lost some of the *burkut* (blessings) which they enjoyed under them—they know not why. The fact is, that under us the lands do not enjoy the salutary fallows which frequent invasions and civil wars used to cause under former governments. Those who survived such civil wars and invasions got better returns for their seed!

During the discussion of the question with the people, I had one day a conversation with our Sudder Ameer, or head native júdicial officer, whom I have already mentioned. He told me, "that there could be no doubt of the truth of the conclusion to which the people had at length come! There are," he said, "some countries in which punishments follow crimes after long intervals, and, indeed, do not take place till some future birth; in others they follow crimes immediately; and such is the country bordering the stream of *Mother Nerbudda!* This," said he, "is a stream more holy than that of the great Ganges herself, since no man is supposed to derive any benefit from that stream, unless he either bathe in it or drink from it; but the *sight* of the Nerbudda from a distant hill could bless him, and purify him. In

other countries, the slaughter of cows and bullocks might not be punished for ages; and the harvest, in such countries, might continue good through many successive generations, under such enormities: indeed, he was not quite sure that there might not be countries in which no punishment at all would inevitably follow; but so near the Nerbudda this could not be the case! Providence could never suffer beef to be eaten so near her sacred majesty without visiting the crops with blight, hail, or some other calamity; and the people with cholera morbus, small-pox, and other great pestilences. As for himself, he should never be persuaded that all these afflictions did not arise wholly and solely from this dreadful habit of eating beef. I declare," concluded he, "that if government would but consent to prohibit the eating of beef, it might levy from the lands three times the revenue that they now pay."

The great festival of the Hooghly, the saturnalia of India, terminates on the last day of Phagoon, or 16th of March. On that day the Hooghly is burned; and on that day the ravages of the monster (for monster they will have it to be) are supposed to cease. Any field that has remained untouched up to that time is considered to be quite secure from the moment the Hooghly has been committed to the flames. What gave rise to the notion I have never been able to discover; but such is the general belief. I suppose the silicious epidermis must then have become too hard, and the pores in the stem too much closed

up to admit of the further depredation of the fungi.

In the latter end of 1831, while I was at Saugor, a cowherd, in driving his cattle to water at a reach of the Beeose river, called the Nurdhardhar, near the little village of Jusruttee, was reported to have seen a vision, that told him the waters of that reach, taken up and conveyed to the fields in pitchers, would effectually keep off the blight from the wheat, provided the pitchers were not suffered to touch the ground on the way. On reaching the field, a small hole was to be made at the bottom of the pitcher, so as to keep up a small but steady stream, as the bearer carried it round the border of the field, that the water might fall in a complete ring, except at a small opening, which was to be kept dry, in order that the *monster* or *demon blight* might make his escape through it, not being able to cross over any part watered by the holy stream. The waters of the Beeose river generally are not supposed to have any peculiar virtues. The report of this vision spread rapidly over the country; and the people who had been suffering under so many seasons of great calamity were anxious to try anything that promised the slightest chance of relief. Every cultivator of the district prepared pots for the conveyance of this water, with tripods to support them while they rested on the road, that they might not touch the ground. The spot pointed out for taking the water was immediately under a fine large peepul-tree which had

fallen into the river, and on each bank was seated a Byragee, or priest of Vishnoo. The blight began to manifest itself in the ulsee (linseed) in January, 1832, but the wheat is never considered to be in danger till late in February, when it is nearly ripe; and during that month and the following the banks of the river were crowded with people in search of the water. Some of these people came more than one hundred miles to fetch it; and all seemed to feel quite sure that the holy water would save them. Each person gave the Byragee priest, of his own side of the river, two half-pence, (copper pice,) two pice weight of ghee, (clarified butter,) and two pounds of flour, before he filled his pitcher, to secure his blessings from it. These priests were strangers; and the offerings were entirely voluntary. The roads from this reach of the Beeose river, up to the capital of the Orcha Rajah, more than a hundred miles, were literally lined with these water-carriers; and I estimated the number of persons who passed with the water every day, for six weeks, at ten thousand a day.

After they had ceased to take the water, the banks were long crowded with people who flocked to see the place whose priests and waters had worked such miracles, and to try and discover the source whence the water derived its virtues. It was remarked by some, that the peepul-tree, which had fallen from the bank above many years before, had still continued to throw out the richest foliage from the branches above the surface of the water. Others de-

ared that they saw a *monkey* on the bank near the pot, which no sooner perceived that it was observed than it plunged into the stream and disappeared. Others again saw some flights of steps under the waters, indicating that it had in days of yore been the site of a temple, whose God, no doubt, gave to the waters the wonderful virtues it had been found to possess. The priests would say nothing, but "that it was the work of God; and, like all his works, beyond the reach of man's understanding." They made their fortunes, and got up the vision and *miracle*, no doubt, for that especial purpose. As to the effect, I was told by hundreds of farmers who had tried the waters, that though it had not anywhere kept the blight off entirely from the wheat, it was found that the fields which had not the advantages of water were entirely destroyed; and where the pot had been taken all round the field without leaving any dry opening for the *demon* to escape through, it was almost as bad; but when a small opening had been left, and the water carefully dropped around the field elsewhere, the crop had been very little injured which showed clearly the efficacy of the water, whe[n] all the ceremonies and observances prescribed [b]y the vision had been attended to!

I could never find the cowherd who was said [to] have seen this vision; and in speaking to my friend, the Sudder Ameer, learned in the shastres, the subject, I told him that we had a short sa

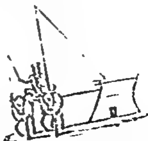
that would explain all this—"a drowning catches at a straw."

"Yes," said he, without any hesitation, "an have another just as good for the occasion: 'S will follow each other though it should be ir well.'"

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PESTLE AND MORTAR SUGAR-MILLS—WASHING AWAY OF THE SOIL.

On the 13th we came on to Burwa Saugor, over a road winding amongst small ridges and conical hills, none of them much elevated or very steep; the whole being a bed of brown syenite, generally exposed to the surface in a decomposing state, intersected by veins and beds of quartz rocks, and here and there a narrow and shallow bed of dark basalt. One of these beds of basalt was converted into grey syenite by a large granular mixture of white quartz and feldspar, with the black hornblende. From this rock the people form their sugar-mills, which are made like a pestle and mortar, the mortar being cut out of the horn blende rock, and the pestle out of wood, thus:



that would explain all this—"a drowning man catches at a straw."

"Yes," said he, without any hesitation, "and we have another just as good for the occasion: 'Sheep will follow each other though it should be into a well.'"

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PESTLE AND MORTAR SUGAR-MILLS—WASHING AWAY OF THE SOIL.

On the 13th we came on to Burwa Saugor, over a road winding amongst small ridges and conical hills, none of them much elevated or very steep; the whole being a bed of brown syenite, generally exposed to the surface in a decomposing state, intersected by veins and beds of quartz rocks, and here and there a narrow and shallow bed of dark basalt. One of these beds of basalt was converted into grey syenite by a large granular mixture of white quartz and feldspar, with the black hornblende. From this rock the people form their sugar-mills, which are made like a pestle and mortar, the mortar being cut out of the horn-blende rock, and the pestle out of wood, thus:



We saw a great many of these mortars during the march, that could not have been in use for the last half-dozen centuries, but they are precisely the same as those still used all over India. The driver sits upon the end of the horizontal beam to which the bullocks are yoked; and in cold mornings it is very common to see him with a pair of good hot embers at his buttocks, resting upon a little projection made behind him to the beam for the purpose of sustaining it. I am disposed to think that the most productive parts of the surface of Bundelcund, like that of some of the districts of the Nerbudda territories which repose upon the back of the sandstone of the Vindhya chain, is fast flowing off to the sea through the great rivers, which seem by degrees to extend the channels of their tributary streams into every man's field, to drain away its substance by degrees, for the benefit of those who may in some future age occupy the islands of their delta. I have often seen a valuable estate reduced in value to almost nothing, in a few years, by some new *antennæ*, if I may so call them, thrown out from the tributary streams of great rivers into their richest and deepest soils. Declivities are formed, the soil gets nothing from the cultivator but the mechanical aid of the plough, and the more its surface is ploughed and cross-ploughed, the more of its substance is washed away towards the Bay of Bengal in the Ganges, or the Gulf of Cambay in the Nerbudda. In the districts of the Nerbudda, we often see these black hornblende

mortars, in which sugar-canes were once pressed by a happy peasantry, now standing upon a bare and barren surface of sandstone rock, twenty feet above the present surface of the culturable lands of the country. There are evident signs of the surface on which they now stand having been that on which they were last worked. The people get more juice from their small straw-coloured canes in these pestle and mortar mills, than they can from those with cylindrical rollers in the present rude state of the mechanical arts all over India; and the straw-coloured cane is the only kind that yields good sugar. The large purple canes yield a watery and very inferior juice; and are generally, and almost universally, sold in the markets as a fruit. The straw-coloured canes, from being crowded under a very slovenly system, with little manure and less weeding, degenerate into a mere reed. The Otaheitic cane, which was introduced into India by me in 1827, has spread over the Nerbudda, and many other territories; but that that will degenerate in the same manner, under the same slovenly system of tillage, is too probable.

CHAPTER XXIX.

INTERVIEW WITH THE CHIEFS OF JANSEE—DISPUTED SUCCESSION.

On the 14th we came on fourteen miles to Jansee. About five miles from our last ground we crossed the Bytuntee river over a bed of syenite. At this river we mounted our elephant to cross, as the water was waist-deep at the ford. My wife returned to her palankeen as soon as we had crossed, but our little boy came on with me on the elephant, to meet the grand procession which I knew was approaching to greet us from the city. The Rajah of Jansee, Ram Chunder Row, died a few months ago, leaving a young widow and a mother, but no child. He was a young man of about twenty-eight years of age, timid, but of good capacity, and most amiable disposition. My duties brought us much into communication; and though we never met, we had conceived a mutual esteem for each other. He had been long suffering from an affection of the liver, and had

latterly persuaded himself that his mother was practising upon his life, with a view to secure the government to the eldest son of her daughter, which would, she thought, insure the real power to her for life. That she wished him dead with this view, I had no doubt; for she had ruled the state for several years up to 1831, during what she was pleased to consider his minority; and she surrendered the power into his hands with great reluctance, since it enabled her to employ her *paramour* as minister, and enjoy his society as much as she pleased, under the pretence of holding *privy councils* upon affairs of great public interest. He used to communicate his fears to me; and I was not without apprehension that his mother might some day attempt to hasten his death by poison. About a month before his death he wrote to me to say, that spears had been found stuck in the ground under the water where he was accustomed to swim, with their sharp points upwards; and had he not, contrary to his usual practice, walked into the water, and struck his foot against one of them, he must have been killed. This was, no doubt, a thing got up by some designing person, who wanted to ingratiate himself with the young man; for the mother was too shrewd a woman ever to attempt her son's life by such awkward means. About four months before I reached the capital, this amiable young prince died, leaving two paternal uncles, a mother, a widow, and one sister, the wife of one of our Saugor pensioners, Moreesur

Row. The mother claimed the inheritance for her grandson by this daughter, a very handsome young lad, then at Jansee, on the pretence that her son had adopted him on his death-bed. She had his head shaved, and made him go through all the other ceremonies of mourning, as for the death of his real father. The eldest of his uncles, Rogonath Row, claimed the inheritance as the next heir; and all his party turned the young lad out of caste as a Brahman, for daring to go into mourning for a father who was yet alive, one of the greatest of crimes, according to Hindoo law and religion, for they would not admit that he had been adopted by the deceased prince. The question of inheritance had been referred for decision to the supreme government through the prescribed channel, when I arrived; and the decision was every day expected. The mother, with her daughter and grandson, and the widow, occupied the castle situated on a high hill overlooking the city; while the two uncles of the deceased occupied their private dwelling-houses in the city below. Ragonath Row, the eldest, headed the procession that came out to meet me about three miles, mounted upon a fine female elephant, with his younger brother by his side. The minister, Naroo Gopaul, followed, mounted upon another on the part of the mother and widow. Some of the Rajah's relations were upon two of the finest male elephants I have ever seen; and some of their friends with the buckshee, or paymaster, (always an important personage,)

upon two others. Rogonath Row's elephant drew up on the right of mine, and that of the minister on the left; and after the usual compliments had passed between us, all the others fell back and formed a line in our rear. They had about fifty troopers mounted upon very fine horses in excellent condition, which curvetted before and on both sides of us; together with a good many men on camels, and some four or five hundred foot attendants, all well dressed, but in various costumes. The elephants were so close to each other, that the conversation, which we managed to keep up tolerably well, was general almost all the way to our tents; every man taking a part as he found the opportunity of a pause to introduce his little compliment to the honourable Company or to myself, which I did my best to answer or divert. I was glad to see the affectionate respect with which the old man was everywhere received, for I had in my own mind no doubt whatever that the decision of the supreme government would be in his favour. The whole cortège escorted me through the town to my tent, which was pitched on the other side; and then they took their leave, still seated on their elephants, while I sat on mine, with my boy on my knee, till all had made their bow and departed. The elephants, camels, and horses, were all magnificently caparisoned; and the housings of the whole were extremely rich. A good many of the troopers were dressed in chain-armour, which, worn outside

their light-coloured quilted vests, look very like black gauze scarfs.

My little friend, the Sureemunt's own elephant, had lately died; and being unable to go to the cost of another with all its appendages, he had come on thus far on horseback. A native gentleman can never condescend to ride an elephant without a train of at least a dozen attendants on horseback—he would almost as soon ride a horse *without a tail.* Having been considered at one time as the equal of all these Rajahs, I knew that he would feel a little mortified at finding himself buried in the crowd and dust; and invited him, as we approached the city, to take a seat by my side. This gained him consideration, and evidently gave him great pleasure. It was late before we reached our tents, as we were obliged to move slowly through the streets of the city, as well for our own convenience as for the safety of the crowd on foot before and around us. My wife, who had gone on before to avoid the crowd and dust, reached the tents half an hour before us.

In the afternoon, when my second large tent had been pitched, the minister came to pay me a visit with a large train of followers, but with little display; and I found him a very sensible, mild, and gentlemanly man, just as I expected from the high character he bears with both parties, and with the people of the country generally. Any unreserved conversation here in such a crowd was of

course out of the question, and I told the minister, that it was my intention early next morning to visit the tomb of his late master; where I should be very glad to meet him if he could make it convenient to come without any ceremony. He seemed much pleased with the proposal; and next morning we met a little before sunrise within the railing that encloses the tomb or cenotaph; and there had a good deal of quiet, and, I believe, unreserved talk about the affairs of the Jansee state, and the family of the late prince. He told me, that a few hours before the Rajah's death, his mother had placed in his arms for adoption the son of his sister, a very handsome lad of ten years of age—but whether the Rajah was or was not sensible at the time he could not say, for he never after heard him speak; that the mother of the deceased considered the adoption as complete, and made her grandson go through the funeral ceremonies, as for the death of his father, which for nine days were performed unmolested; but when it came to the tenth and last—which, had it passed quietly, would have been considered as completing the title of adoption—Rogonath Row and his friends interposed, and prevented further proceedings, declaring that while there were so many male heirs no son could be adopted for the deceased prince, according to the usages of the family.

The widow of the Rajah, a timid, amiable young woman, of twenty-five years of age, was by no means anxious for this adoption, having shared the sus-

picions of her husband regarding the practices of his mother; and found his sister, who now resided with them in the castle, a most violent and overbearing woman, who would be likely to exclude her from all share in the administration, and make her life very miserable were her son to be declared the Rajah. Her wish was to be allowed to adopt, in the name of her deceased husband, a young cousin of his, Sadasoo, the son of Nana Bhow. Gungadhur, the younger brother of Rogonath Row, was exceedingly anxious to have his elder brother declared Rajah, because he had no sons, and, from the debilitated state of his frame, must soon die, and leave the principality to him. Every one of the three parties had sent agents to the Governor-general's representative in Bundelcund, to urge their claim; and till the final decision, the widow of the late chief was to be considered as the sovereign. The minister told me, that there was one unanswerable argument against Rogonath Row's succeeding, which, out of regard to his feelings, he had not yet urged; and about which he wished to consult me, as a friend of the late prince and his widow: this was, that he was a *leper*, and that the signs of the disease were becoming every day more and more manifest. I told him, that I had observed them in his face, but was not aware that any one else had noticed them. I urged him, however, not to advance this as a ground of exclusion, since they all knew him to be a very worthy man, while his younger brother was said to be the reverse;

and more especially I thought it would be very cruel and unwise to distress and exasperate him by so doing, as I had no doubt that before this ground could be brought to their notice, government would declare in his favour, right being so clearly on his side.

After an agreeable conversation with this sensible and excellent man, I returned to my tents, to prepare for the reception of Rogonath Row and his party. They came about nine o'clock with a much greater display of elephants and followers than the minister had brought with him. He and his friends kept me in close conversation till eleven o'clock, in spite of my wife's many considerate messages, to say breakfast was waiting. He told me, that the mother of the late Rajah, his nephew, was a very violent woman, who had involved the state in much trouble during the period of her regency, which she managed to prolong till her son was twenty-five years of age, and resigned with infinite reluctance only three years ago—that her minister, during her regency, Gungadhur Moolee, was at the same time her *paramour*, and would be surely restored to power and to her *embraces*, were her grandson's claims to the succession recognized—that it was with great difficulty he had been able to keep this atrocious character under surveillance pending the consideration of their claims by the supreme government—that by having the head of her grandson shaved, and making him go through all the other funeral ceremonies with the other members of the family, she had involved him and his

young *innocent wife* (who had unhappily continued to drink out of the same cup with her husband) in the *dreadful crime of mourning for a father whom they knew to be yet alive*, a crime that must be expiated by the *praschut*,* which would be exacted from the young couple on their return to Saugor before they could be restored to their caste, from which they were now considered as excommunicated. As for the young widow, she was everything they could wish; but she was so timid, that she would be governed by the old lady if she should have any ostensible part assigned her in the administration.†

I told the old gentleman, that I believed it would be my duty to pay the first visit to the widow and mother of the late prince, as one of pure condolence; and that I hoped my doing so would not be considered any mark of disrespect towards him, who must now be looked up to as the head of the family. He

* The praschut is an expiatory atonement, by which the person humbles himself in public. It is often imposed for crimes committed in a *former birth*, as indicated by afflictions suffered in this!

† The poor young widow died of grief some months after my visit: her spirits never rallied after the death of her husband; and she never ceased to regret, that she had not burned herself with his remains. The people of Jansee generally believe, that the prince's mother brought about his death by (deenall) slow poison; and I am afraid that this was the impression on the mind of the poor widow. The minister, who was entirely on her side, and a most worthy and able man, was quite satisfied that this suspicion was without any foundation whatever in truth.

remonstrated against this most earnestly; and at last tears came into his eyes as he told me, that if I paid the first visit to the castle he should never again be able to show his face outside his door, so great would be the indignity he should be considered to have suffered; but rather than I should do this he would come to my tents, and escort me himself to the castle. Much was to be said on both sides of the weighty question; but at last I thought that the arguments were in his favour—that if I went to the castle first, he might possibly resent it upon the poor woman and the prime minister when he came into power, as I had no doubt he soon would; and that I might be consulting their interest as much as his feelings by going to his house first. In the evening I received a message from the old lady, urging the necessity of my paying the first visit of condolence for the death of my young friend, to the widow and mother. "The rights of mothers," said she, "are respected in all countries; and in India, the first visit of condolence for the death of a man, is always due to the mother, if alive." I told the messenger that my resolution was unaltered, and would, I trusted, be found the best for all parties under present circumstances. I told him, that I dreaded the resentment towards them of Rogonath Row, if he came into power. "Never mind that," said he; "my mistress is of too proud a spirit to dread resentment from any one—pay her the compliment of the first visit, and let her enemies do their worst!" I told him that I could

leave Jansee without visiting either of them, but could not go first to the castle; and he said, that my departing thus would please the old lady better than the *second visit!* The minister would not have said this—the old lady would not have ventured to send such a message by him—the man was an under-strapper; and I left him, to mount my elephant and pay my two visits.

With the best cortège I could muster, I went to Rogonath Row's, where I was received with a salute from some large guns in his courtyard, and entertained with a party of dancing girls and musicians in the usual manner. Ottar of roses and pawn were given; and valuable shawls put before me, and refused in the politest terms I could think of, such as, "Pray do me the favour to keep these things for me till I have the happiness of visiting Jansee again, as I am going through Gwalior, where nothing valuable is a moment safe from thieves." After sitting an hour, I mounted my elephant, and proceeded up to the castle, where I was received with another salute from the bastions. I sat for half an hour in the hall of audience with the minister and all the principal men of the court, as Rogonath Row was to be considered as a private gentleman till the decision of the supreme government should be made known; and the handsome young lad, Krishnu Row, whom the old woman wished to adopt, and whom I had often seen at Saugor, was at my request brought in and seated by my side. By him I sent my message of

condolence to the widow and mother of his deceased uncle, couched in the usual terms, that the happy effects of good government in the prosperity of this city, and the comfort and happiness of the people, had extended the fame of the family all over India; and that I trusted the reigning member of that family, whoever he might be, would be sensible, that it was his duty to sustain that reputation by imitating the example of those who had gone before him. After ottar of roses and pawn had been handed round in the usual manner, I went to the summit of the highest tower in the castle, which commands an extensive view of the country around.

The castle stands upon the summit of a small hill of syenitic rock. The elevation of the outer wall is about one hundred feet above the level of the plain; and the top of the tower on which I stood about one hundred feet more, as the buildings rise gradually from the sides to the summit of the hill. The city extends out into the plain to the east from the foot of the hill on which the castle stands. Around the city there is a good deal of land irrigated from four or five tanks in the neighbourhood, and now under rich wheat crops; and the gardens are very numerous, and abound in all the fruit and vegetables that the people most like. Oranges are very abundant and very fine; and our tents have been actually buried in them, and all the other fruits and vegetables which the kind people of Jansee have poured in upon us. The city of Jansee con-

tains about sixty-thousand inhabitants; and is celebrated for its manufacture of carpets. There are some very beautiful temples in the city, all built by Goosaens, one of the priests of Sewa, who here engage in trade and accumulate much wealth.* The family of the chiefs do not build tombs; and that now raised over the place where the late prince was burned is dedicated, as a temple, to Sewa; and was made merely with a view to secure the place from all danger of profanation. The ashes themselves were taken to the Ganges, and deposited in the holy stream with the usual ceremonies.

The face of the country beyond the influence of the tanks is neither rich nor interesting. The cultivation seemed scanty and the population thin, owing to the irremediable sterility of soil from the poverty of the primitive rock, from whose detritus it is chiefly formed. Rogonath Row told me, that the wish of the people in the castle to adopt a child as the successor to his nephew, arose from the desire to escape the scrutiny into the past accounts of disbursements which he might be likely to order. I told him, that I had myself no doubt that he would be declared the Rajah; and urged him to turn all his thoughts to the future; and to allow no inquiries to be made into the past, with a view to gratify

* These buildings are both tombs and temples; the Goosaens of Jansee do not burn but bury their dead, and over the grave, those who can afford to do so, raise a handsome temple, and dedicate it to Sewa.

either his own resentment or that of others; that the Rajahs of Jansee had hitherto been served by the most respectable, able, and honourable men in the country, while the other chiefs of Bundelcund could get no man of this class to do their work for them—that this was the only court in Bundelcund in which such men could be seen, simply because it was the only one in which they could feel themselves secure—while other chiefs confiscated the property of ministers who had served them with fidelity, on the pretence of embezzlement; the wealth thus acquired, however, soon disappearing, and its possessors being obliged either to conceal it or to go out of the country to enjoy it. Such rulers thus found their courts and capitals deprived of all those men of wealth and respectability who adorned the courts of princes in other countries; and embellished not merely their capitals but the face of their dominions in general with their chateaus and other works of ornament and utility. Much more of this sort passed between us, and seemed to make an impression upon *him*; for he promised to do all that I had recommended to him. Poor man! he can have but a short and miserable existence, for that dreadful disease, the leprosy, is making sad inroads upon his system already.* His uncle, Rogonath Row, was afflicted with it; and having understood from the priests, that by *drowning* himself in the Ganges, (taking the sumād,) he

* This chief died of leprosy in May, 1838.

should remove all traces of it from his family, he went to Benares, and there drowned himself, some twenty years ago. He had no children, and is said to have been the first of his family in whom the disease showed itself.*

* Rogonath Row was the first of his family invested by the Peshwa with the government of the Jansee territory, which he had acquired from the Bundelcund chiefs. He went to Benares in 1795 to drown himself, leaving the government to his third brother, Sewram Bhow, as his next brother, Luchmun Row, was dead, and his sons were considered incapable. Sewram Bhow died in 1815, and his eldest son, Krishnu Row, had died four years before him in 1811, leaving one son, the late Rajah, and two daughters. This was a noble sacrifice to what he had been taught, by his spiritual teachers, to consider as a duty towards his family; and we must admire the man, while we condemn the religion and the priests. There is no country in the world where parents are more reverenced than in India; or where they more readily make sacrifices of all sorts for their children, or for those they consider as such. We succeeded in 1817 to all the rights of the Peshwa in Bundelcund; and with great generosity converted the viceroys of Jansee and Jhalone into independent sovereigns of hereditary principalities, yielding each ten lacs of rupees.

CHAPTER XXX.

HAUNTED VILLAGES.

On the 16th, we came on nine miles to Amabae, the frontier village of the Jansee territory, bordering upon Duteea, where I had to receive the farewell visits of many members of the Jansee parties, who came on to have a quiet opportunity to assure me, that, whatever may be the final order of the supreme government, they will do their best for the good of the people and the state, in whose welfare I feel great interest, for I have always considered Jansee among the native states of Bundelcund as a kind of oasis in the desert—the only one in which man can accumulate property with the confidence of being permitted by its rulers freely to display and enjoy it. I had also to receive the visit of messengers from the Rajah of Duteea, at whose capital we were to encamp the next day; and finally, to take leave of my amiable little friend the Sureemunt, who here left me on his return to Saugor, with a heavy heart I really believe.

We talked of the common belief among the agricultural classes, of villages being haunted by the spirits of ancient proprietors, whom it was thought necessary to propitiate. "He knew," he said, "many instances where these spirits were so very *froward*, that the present heads of the villages which they haunted, and the members of their little communities, found it almost impossible to keep them in good humour; and their cattle and children were, in consequence, always liable to serious accidents of one kind or another. Sometimes they were bitten by snakes, sometimes became possessed by devils; and at others, were thrown down and beaten most unmercifully." Any person who falls down in an epileptic fit, is supposed to be thrown down by a ghost, or possessed by a devil. They feel little of our mysterious dread of ghosts—a sound *drubbing* is what they dread from them; and he who hurts himself in one of these fits is considered to have got it. "As for himself, whenever he found any one of the villages upon his estate haunted by the spirit of an old patel, (village proprietor,) he always made a point of giving him a *neat little shrine;* and having it well endowed and attended, to keep him in good humour: this he thought was a duty that every landlord owed to his tenants!" Ramchund, the pundit, said, "That villages which had been held by old Gond (mountaineer) proprietors were more liable than any other to those kinds of visitations—that it was easy to say what village was and was not haunted;

but often exceedingly difficult to discover to whom the ghost belonged! This once discovered, his nearest surviving relation was, of course, expected to take steps to put him to rest; but," said he, "it is wrong to suppose that the ghost of an old proprietor must be always doing mischief—he is often the best friend of the cultivators, and of the present proprietor, too, if he treats him with proper respect; for he will not allow the people of any other village to encroach upon their boundaries with impunity; and they will be saved all the expense and annoyance of a reference to the Adawlut (judicial tribunals) for the settlement of boundary disputes. It will not cost much to conciliate these spirits; and the money is generally well laid out!"

Several anecdotes were told me in illustration; and all that I could urge against the probability or possibility of such visitations appeared to them very inconclusive and unsatisfactory; they mentioned the case of the family of village proprietors in the Saugor district, who had for several generations, at every new settlement, insisted upon having the name of the spirit of the old proprietor of another tribe inserted in the lease instead of their own, and thereby secured his good graces on all occasions. Mr. Fraser had before mentioned this case to me. In August, 1834, while engaged in the settlement of the land revenue of the Saugor district for twenty years, he was about to deliver the lease of the estate made out in due form to the head of the family, a very honest and

respectable old gentleman, when he asked him, respectfully, in whose name it had been made out? "In yours to be sure; have you not renewed your lease for twenty years?" The old man, in a state of great alarm, begged him to have it altered immediately, or he and his family would all be destroyed—that the spirit of the ancient proprietor presided over the village community and its interests; and that all affairs of importance were transacted in his name. "He is," said the old man, "a very jealous spirit; and will not admit of any living man being considered, for a moment, as a proprietor or joint proprietor of the estate! It has been held by me and my ancestors immediately under government for many generations; but the lease deeds have always been made out in his name; and ours have been inserted merely as his managers, or bailiffs—were this good old rule, under which we have so long prospered, to be now infringed, we should all perish under his anger." Mr. Fraser found, upon inquiry, that this had really been the case; and, to relieve the old man and his family from their fears, he had the papers made out afresh, and the *ghost* inserted as the proprietor! The modes of flattering and propitiating these beings, natural and supernatural, who are supposed to have the power to do mischief, are endless.

While I was in charge of the district of Nursingpore, in the valley of the Nerbudda, in 1823, a cultivator of the village of Bedoo, about twelve miles

distant from my court, was one day engaged in the cultivation of his field on the border of the village of Burkhara, which was supposed to be haunted by the spirit of an old proprietor, whose temper was so froward and violent that the lands could hardly be let for anything; for hardly any man would venture to cultivate them lest he might unintentionally incur his ghostship's displeasure. The poor cultivator, after begging his pardon in secret, ventured to drive his plough a few yards beyond the proper line of his boundary, and thus to add half an acre of the lands of Burkhara to his own little tenement, which was situated in Bedoo. That very night his only son was bitten by a snake, and his two bullocks were seized with the murrain. In terror he went off to the village temple, confessed his sin, and vowed not only to restore the half acre of land to the village of Burkhara, but to build a very handsome shrine upon the spot as a perpetual sign of his repentance. The boy and the bullocks all three recovered, and the shrine was built; and is, I believe, still to be seen as the boundary mark!

The fact was, that the village stood upon an elevated piece of ground rising out of a moist plain, and a colony of snakes had taken up their abode in it. The bites of these snakes had, on many occasions, proved fatal; and such accidents were all attributed to the anger of a spirit which was supposed to haunt the village. At one time, under the former government, no one would take a lease of the village

on any terms; and it had become almost entirely deserted, though the soil was the finest in the whole district. With a view to remove the whole prejudices of the people, the governor, Goroba Pundit, took the lease himself at the rent of one thousand rupees a year; and in the month of June went from his residence, twelve miles, with ten of his own ploughs, to superintend the commencement of so *perilous* an undertaking. On reaching the middle of the village, situated on the top of the little hill, he alighted from his horse, sat down upon a carpet that had been spread for him under a large and beautiful banyan tree, and began to refresh himself with a pipe before going to work in the fields. As he quaffed his hookah, and railed at the follies of men, "whose absurd superstitions had made them desert so beautiful a village with so noble a tree in its centre," his eyes fell upon an enormous black snake which had coiled round one of its branches immediately over his head, and seemed as if resolved at once to pounce down and punish him for his blasphemy! He gave his pipe to his attendant, mounted his horse, from which the saddle had not yet been taken, and never pulled rein till he got home. Nothing could ever induce him to visit this village again, though he was afterwards employed under me as a native collector; and he has often told me, that he verily believed this was the spirit of the old landlord that he had unhappily neglected to propitiate before taking possession!

My predecessor in the civil charge of that district, the late Mr. Lindsay, of the Bengal civil service, again tried to remove the prejudices of the people against the occupation and cultivation of this fine village. It had never been measured; and all the revenue officers, backed by all the farmers and cultivators of the neighbourhood, declared that the spirit of the old proprietor would never allow it to be so. Mr. Lindsay was a good geometrician, and had long been in the habit of superintending his revenue surveys himself; and on this occasion he thought himself particularly called upon to do so. A new measuring cord was made for the occasion, and with fear and trembling all his officers attended him to the first field; but in measuring it the rope, by some accident, broke! Poor Lindsay was that morning taken ill, and obliged to return to Nursingpore, where he died soon after from fever. No man was ever more beloved by all classes of the people of his district than he was; and I believe there was not one person among them who did not believe him to have fallen a victim to the resentment of the spirit of the old proprietor. When I went to the village some years afterwards, the people in the neighbourhood all declared to me, that they saw the cord with which he was measuring, fly into a thousand pieces the moment the men attempted to straighten it over the first field.

A very respectable old gentleman from the Concan,

or Malabar coast, told me one day, that every man there protects his field of corn and his fruit tree by dedicating it to one or other of the spirits which there abound, or confiding it to his guardianship. He sticks up something in the field, or ties on something to the tree, in the name of the said spirit, who from that moment feels himself responsible for its safe keeping. If any one, without permission from the proprietor, presumes to take either an ear of corn from the field, or fruit from the tree, he is sure to be killed outright or made extremely ill. "No other protection is required," said the old gentleman, "for our fields and fruit trees in that direction, though whole armies should have to march through them. I once saw a man come to the proprietor of a jack tree, embrace his feet, and in the most piteous manner implore his protection. He asked what was the matter. 'I took,' said the man, 'a jack from your tree yonder three days ago, as I passed at night; and I have been suffering dreadful agony in my stomach ever since. The spirit of the tree is upon me, and you only can pacify him.' The proprietor took up a bit of cow-dung, moistened it, and made a mark with it upon the man's forehead *in the name of the spirit*, and put some of it into the knot of hair on the top of his head. He had no sooner done this, than the man's pains all left him, and he went off, vowing never again to give similar cause of offence to one of these guardian spirits."

"Men," said my old friend, "do not die there in the same regulated spirit, with their thoughts directed exclusively towards God, as in other parts; and whether a man's spirit is to haunt the world or not after his death all depends on that."

CHAPTER XXXI.

INTERVIEW WITH THE RAJAH OF DUTEEA—FISCAL ERRORS OF STATESMEN—THIEVES AND ROBBERS BY PROFESSION.

On the 17th, we came to Duteea, nine miles, over a dry and poor soil, thinly and only partially covering a bed of brown and grey syenite, wlth veins of quartz and feldspar, and here and there dykes of basalt, and a few boulders scattered over the surface. The old Rajah, Paureechut, on one elephant, and his cousin, Duleep Sing, upon a second, and several of their relations upon others, all splendidly caparisoned, came out two miles to meet us, with a very large and splendid cortège. My wife, as usual, had gone on in her palankeen very early, to avoid the crowd and dust of this *istakbal*, or meeting; and my little boy, Henry, went on at the same time in the palankeen, having got a slight fever from too much exposure to the sun in our slow and stately entrance into Jansee. There were more men in steel chain armour in this cortège than in that of Jansee; and

though the elephants were not quite so fine, they were just as numerous, while the crowd of foot attendants was still greater. They were in fancy dresses, individually handsome, and collectively picturesque; though, being all soldiers, not quite pleasing to the eye of a soldier. I remarked to the Rajah, as we rode side by side on our elephants, that we attached much importance to having our soldiers all in uniform dresses, according to their corps, while he seemed to care little about these matters. "Yes," said the old man, with a smile, "with me every man pleases himself in his dress; and I care not what he wears, provided he is neat and clean." They certainly formed a body more picturesque, from being allowed individually to consult their own fancies in their dresses, for the native taste in dress is generally very good. Our three elephants came on abreast; and the Rajah and I conversed as freely as men in such situations can converse. He is a stout, cheerful old gentleman, as careless apparently about his own dress as about that of his soldiers; and a much more sensible and agreeable person than I expected; and I was sorry to learn from him, that he had for twelve years been suffering from an attack of sciatica on one side, which had deprived him of the use of one of his legs. I was obliged to consent to halt the next day, that I might hunt in his preserve (rumna) in the morning, and return his visit in the evening. In the Rajah's cortège there were several men mounted

on excellent horses, who carried guitars, and played upon them, and sang in a very agreeable style. I had never before seen or heard of such a band; and was both surprised and pleased.

The great part of the wheat, grain, and other exportable land produce which the people consume, as far as we have yet come, is drawn from our Nerbudda districts, and those of Malwa which border upon them; and *par consequent*, the price has been rapidly increasing as we recede from them in our advance northward. Were the soil of those Nerbudda districts, situated as they are at such a distance from any great market for their agricultural products, as bad as it is in the parts of Bundelcund that I came over, no net surplus revenue could possibly be drawn from them in the present state of arts and industry. The high prices paid here for land produce, arising from the necessity of drawing a great part of what is consumed from such distant lands, enables the Rajahs of these Bundelcund states to draw the large revenue they do. These chiefs expend the whole of their revenue in the maintenance of public establishments of one kind or other; and as the essential articles of subsistence, *wheat* and *grain*, &c., which are produced in their own districts, or those immediately around them, are not sufficient for the supply of these establishments, they must draw them from distant territories. All this produce is brought on the backs of bullocks, because there is no road from the districts whence they obtain it, over which

a wheeled carriage can be drawn with safety; and as this mode of transit is very expensive, the price of the produce, when it reaches the capitals, around which these local establishments are concentrated, becomes very high. They must pay a price equal to the collective cost of purchasing and bringing this substance from the most distant districts, to which they are at any time obliged to have recourse for a supply, or they will not be supplied; and as there cannot be two prices for the same thing in the same market, the wheat and grain produced in the neighbourhood of one of these Bundelcund capitals, fetch as high a price there as that brought from the most remote districts on the banks of the Nerbudda river; while it costs comparatively nothing to bring it from the former lands to the markets. Such lands, in consequence, yield a rate of rent much greater compared with their natural powers of fertility than those of the remotest districts whence produce is drawn for these markets or capitals; and as all the lands are the property of the Rajahs, they draw all these rents as revenue.*

Were we to take this revenue, which the Rajahs now enjoy, in tribute for the maintenance of public establishments concentrated at distant seats, all these local establishments would of course be at once disbanded; and all the effectual demand which

* Bundelcund exports to the Ganges a great quantity of cotton, which enables it to pay for the wheat, grain, and other land produce which it draws from distant districts.

they afford for the raw agricultural produce of distant districts, would cease. The price of this produce would diminish in proportion; and with it the value of the lands of the districts around such capitals. Hence the folly of conquerors and paramount powers, from the days of the Greeks and Romans down to those of Lord Hastings and Sir John Malcolm, who were all bad political economists, supposing, that conquered and ceded territories could always be made to yield to a foreign state the same amount of gross revenue as they had paid to their domestic government, whatever their situation with reference to the markets for their produce—whatever the state of their arts and their industry—and whatever the character and extent of the local establishments maintained out of it. The settlements of the land revenue in all the territories acquired in central India during the Mahratta war, which ended, in 1817, were made upon the supposition, that the lands would continue to pay the same rate of rent under the new, as they had paid under the old government, uninfluenced by the diminution of all local establishments, civil and military, to one-tenth of what they had been; that, under the new order of things, all the waste lands must be brought into tillage, and be able to pay as high a rate of rent as before tillage; and, consequently, that the aggregate available net revenue must greatly and rapidly increase! Those who had the making of the settlements, and the governing of these new territories, did not

consider, that the diminution of every *establishment* was the removal of a *market*—of an effectual demand for land produce; and that when all the waste lands should be brought into tillage, the whole would deteriorate in fertility, from the want of fallows, under the prevailing system of agriculture, which afforded the lands no other means of renovation from over cropping. The settlements of the land revenue which were made throughout our new acquisitions upon these fallacious assumptions, of course failed. During a series of quinquennial settlements, the assessment has been everywhere gradually reduced to about two-thirds of what it was when our rule began; and to less than one-half of what Sir John Malcolm, and all the other local authorities, and even the worthy Marquis of Hastings himself, under the influence of their opinions, expected it would be. The land revenues of the native princes of central India, who reduced their public establishments, which the new order of things seemed to render useless, and thereby diminished their only markets for the raw produce of their lands, have been everywhere falling off in the same proportion; and scarcely one of them now draws two-thirds of the income he drew from the same lands in 1817.

There are in the valley of the Nerbudda, districts that yield a great deal more produce every year than either Orcha, Jansee, or Duteea; and yet, from the want of the same domestic markets, they do not yield one-fourth of the amount of land revenue. The

lands are, however, rated equally high to the assessment, in proportion to their value to the farmers and cultivators. To enable them to yield a larger revenue to government, they require to have larger establishments as markets for land produce. These establishments may be either public, and paid by government, or they may be private, as manufactories, by which the land produce of these districts would be consumed by people employed in investing the value of their labour in commodities suited to the demand of distant markets, and more valuable than land produce in proportion to their weight and bulk. These are the establishments which government should exert itself to introduce and foster, since the valley of the Nerbudda, in addition to a soil exceedingly fertile, has in its whole line, from its source to its embouchure, rich beds of coal reposing for the use of future generations, under the sand-stone of the Sathpore and Vindhya ranges; and beds no less rich of very fine iron. These advantages have not yet been justly appreciated; but they will be so by-and-bye.

About half-past four in the afternoon of the day we reached Duteea, I had a visit from the Rajah, who came in his palankeen, with a very respectable, but not very numerous or noisy train; and he sat with me about an hour. My large tents were both pitched parallel to each other, about twenty paces distant, and united to each other at both ends by separate kanats, or cloth curtains. My little boy

was present, and behaved extremely well in steadily refusing, without even a look from me, a handful of gold mohurs, which the Rajah pressed several times upon his acceptance. I received him at the door of my tent, and supported him upon my arm to his chair, as he cannot walk without some slight assistance, from the affection already mentioned in his leg. A salute from the guns of his castle announced his departure and return to it. After the audience, Lieutenant Thomas and I ascended to the summit of a palace of the former Rajahs of this state, which stands upon a high rock close inside the eastern gate of the city, whence we could see, to the west of the city a still larger and handsomer palace standing. I asked our conductors, the Rajah's servants, why it was unoccupied. "No prince of these degenerate days," said they, "could muster a family and court worthy of such a palace—the family and court of the largest of them would, within the walls of such a building, feel as if they were in a desert! Such palaces were made for princes of the older times, who were quite different beings from those of the present days."

From the deserted palace, we went to the new garden which is preparing for the young Rajah, an adopted son of about ten years of age. It is close to the southern wall of the city, and is very extensive and well managed. The orange-trees are all grafted, and sinking under the weight of as fine fruit as any in India. Attempting to ascend the steps of an

lands are, however, rated equally high to the assessment, in proportion to their value to the farmers and cultivators. To enable them to yield a larger revenue to government, they require to have larger establishments as markets for land produce. These establishments may be either public, and paid by government, or they may be private, as manufactories, by which the land produce of these districts would be consumed by people employed in investing the value of their labour in commodities suited to the demand of distant markets, and more valuable than land produce in proportion to their weight and bulk. These are the establishments which government should exert itself to introduce and foster, since the valley of the Nerbudda, in addition to a soil exceedingly fertile, has in its whole line, from its source to its embouchure, rich beds of coal reposing for the use of future generations, under the sand-stone of the Sathpore and Vindhya ranges; and beds no less rich of very fine iron. These advantages have not yet been justly appreciated; but they will be so by-and-bye.

About half-past four in the afternoon of the day we reached Duteea, I had a visit from the Rajah, who came in his palankeen, with a very respectable, but not very numerous or noisy train; and he sat with me about an hour. My large tents were both pitched parallel to each other, about twenty paces distant, and united to each other at both ends by separate kanats, or cloth curtains. My little boy

was present, and behaved extremely well in steadily refusing, without even a look from me, a handful of gold mohurs, which the Rajah pressed several times upon his acceptance. I received him at the door of my tent, and supported him upon my arm to his chair, as he cannot walk without some slight assistance, from the affection already mentioned in his leg. A salute from the guns of his castle announced his departure and return to it. After the audience, Lieutenant Thomas and I ascended to the summit of a palace of the former Rajahs of this state, which stands upon a high rock close inside the eastern gate of the city, whence we could see, to the west of the city a still larger and handsomer palace standing. I asked our conductors, the Rajah's servants, why it was unoccupied. "No prince of these degenerate days," said they, "could muster a family and court worthy of such a palace—the family and court of the largest of them would, within the walls of such a building, feel as if they were in a desert! Such palaces were made for princes of the older times, who were quite different beings from those of the present days."

From the deserted palace, we went to the new garden which is preparing for the young Rajah, an adopted son of about ten years of age. It is close to the southern wall of the city, and is very extensive and well managed. The orange-trees are all grafted, and sinking under the weight of as fine fruit as any in India. Attempting to ascend the steps of an

empty bungalow, upon a raised terrace at the southern extremity of the garden, the attendants told us respectfully, that they hoped we would take off our shoes if we wished to enter, as the ancestor of the Rajah, by whom it was built, Ram Chund, had lately *become a god,* and was there worshipped! The roof is of stone, supported on carved stone pillars. On the centre pillar, upon a ground of whitewash, is a hand or trident. This is the only sign of a sacred character the building has yet assumed; and I found that it owed this character of sanctity to the circumstance of some one having vowed an offering to the manes of the builder, if he obtained what his soul most desired; and, having obtained it, all the people believe that those who do the same at the same place, in a pure spirit of faith, will obtain what they pray for!

I made some inquiries about Hurdoul Lala, the son of Birsingdes, who built the fort of Dhumoree, one of the ancestors of the Duteah Rajah, and found that he was as much worshipped here, at his birthplace, as upon the banks of the Nerbudda, as the supposed great *originator* of the cholera morbus. There is at Duteea a temple dedicated to him, and much frequented; and one of the priests brought me a flower in his name, and chanted something indicating that Hurdoul Lala was now worshipped even so far as the British *capital of Calcutta!* I asked the old prince what he thought of the origin of the worship of this his ancestor; and he told me, "that

when the cholera broke out first in the camp of Lord Hastings, then pitched about three stages from his capital, on the bank of the Sinde, at Chandpore Sonari, several people recovered from the disease immediatćly after making votive offerings in his name; and that he really thought the spirit of his great-grandfather had worked some wonderful cures upon people afflicted with this dreadful malady!

The town of Duteea contains a population of between forty and fifty thousand souls. The streets are narrow—for in buildings, as in dress, the Rajah allows every man to consult his own inclinations. There are, however, a great many excellent houses in Duteea; and the appearance of the place is altogether very good. Many of his feudatory chiefs reside occasionally in the city, and have all their establishments with them—a practice which does not, I believe, prevail anywhere else among these Bundelcund chiefs; and this makes the capital much larger, handsomer, and more populous than that of Tehree. This indicates more of mutual confidence between the chief and his vassals, and accords well with the character they bear in the surrounding countries. Some of the houses occupied by these barons are very pretty. They spend the revenue of their distant estates in adorning them, and embellishing the capital, which they certainly could not have ventured to do under the late Rajahs of Tehree, and may not possibly be able to do under the future Rajahs of Duteea! The present minister of Duteea, Gunesh, is

a very great knave, and encourages the residence upon his master's estate of all kinds of thieves and robbers, who bring back from distant districts every season vast quantities of booty, which they share with him. The chief himself is a mild old gentleman, who would not suffer violence to be offered to any of his nobles, though he would not, perhaps, quarrel with his minister for getting for him a little addition to his revenue from without, by affording a sanctuary to such kind of people. As in Tehree, so here, the pickpockets constitute the entire population of several villages, and carry their depredations northward to the banks of the Indus, and southward to Bombay and Madras. But colonies of thieves and robbers like these, abound no less in our own territories than in those of native states; there are more than a thousand families of them in the districts of Mozuffeernugur, Saharunpore, and Meerut, in the upper Dooab, all well enough known to the local authorities, who can do nothing with them. They extend their depredations into remote districts, and the booty they bring home with them they share liberally with the native police and landholders under whose protection they live. Many landholders and police officers make large fortunes from the share they get of this booty. Magistrates in our districts do not molest them, because they would despair of ever finding the proprietors of the property that might be found upon them; and if they could trace them, they would never be able to persuade them to

crime and "entail upon a worse than war of trouble" in prosecuting them. These thieves and robbers of the professional classes, who have the sagacity to avoid plundering near home, are always just as secure in our best regulated districts as they are in the worst native states, from the only three things which such depredators care about—the penal laws, the odium of the society in which they move, and the vengeance of the god they worship; and they are always well received in the society around them, as long as they can avoid having their neighbours annoyed by summonses to give evidence for or against them in our courts. They feel quite sure of the good will of the god they worship, provided they give a fair share of their booty to his priests; and no less secure of impunity from penal laws, except on the very rare occasions when they happen to be taken in the fact, in a country where such laws happen to be in force!

CHAPTER XXXII.

SPORTING AT DUTEEA—FIDELITY OF FOLLOWERS TO THEIR CHIEFS IN INDIA—LAW OF PRIMOGENITURE WANTING AMONG MAHOMEDANS.

THE morning after we reached Duteea, I went out with Lieutenant Thomas to shoot and hunt in the Rajah's large preserve; and with the *humane* and determined resolution of killing no more game than our camp would be likely to eat; for we were told that the deer and wild hogs were so very numerous that we might shoot just as many as we pleased. We were posted upon two terraces—one near the gateway, and the other in the centre of the preserve; and after waiting here an hour we got each a shot at a hog. Hares we saw, and might have shot; but we had loaded all our barrels with ball for higher game. We left the Rumna, which is a quadrangle of about one hundred acres of thick grass, shrubs, and brushwood, enclosed by a high stone wall. There is one gate on the west side, and this is kept open

during the night, to let the game out and in. It is shut and guarded during the day, when the animals are left to repose in the shade, except on such occasions as the present, when the Rajah wants to give his guests a morning's sport. On the plains and woods outside we saw a good many large deer, but could not manage to get near them in our own way, and had not patience to try that of the natives, so that we came back without killing anything, or having had any occasion to exercise our *forbearance.* The Rajah's people, as soon as we left them, went about their sport after their own fashion, and brought us a fine buck antelope after breakfast. They have a bullock trained to go about the fields with them, led at a quick pace by a halter, with which the sportsman *guides him as he walks along with him by the side* opposite to that facing the deer he is in pursuit of. He goes round and round the deer as he grazes in the field, shortening his distance at every circle till he comes within shot. At the signal given the bullock stands still; and the sportsman rests his gun upon his back and fires. They seldom miss. Others go with a fine buck and doe antelope, tame, and trained to browze upon the fresh bushes, which are woven for the occasion into a kind of hand-hurdle, behind which a man creeps along over the fields towards the herd of wild ones, or sits still with his matchlock ready and pointed out through the leaves. The herd, seeing the male and female strangers so very busily and agreeably employed upon their ap-

the enemy attempted an assault. Whenever our soldiers endeavoured to approach near them they disappeared; and everybody knew that they were spirits of men like *Birsing Deo* and *Hurdoul Lala* that had come to our aid, and we never lost confidence!" It is easy to understand the devotion of men to their chiefs, when they believe their progenitors to have been demigods, and to have been faithfully served by their ancestors for several generations. We neither have, nor ever can have, servants so personally devoted to us as these men are to their chiefs, though we have soldiers who will fight under our banners with as much courage and fidelity. They know that their grandfathers served the grandfathers of these chiefs, and they hope their grandchildren will serve their grandsons. The one feels as much pride and pleasure in so serving, as the other in being so served; and both hope that the link which binds them may never be severed. Our servants, on the contrary, private and public, are always in dread that some accident—some trivial fault, or some slight offence, not to be avoided—will sever for ever the link that binds them to their master.

The fidelity of the military classes of the people of India to their immediate chief, or leader, whose *salt they eat,* has been always very remarkable, and commonly bears little reference to his *moral virtues,* or conduct towards *his* superiors. They feel that it is their duty to serve him who feeds and protects them and their families, in all situations, and

under all circumstances: and the chief feels, that while he has a right to their services, it is his imperative duty so to feed and protect them and their families. He may change sides as often as he pleases, but the relations between him and his followers remain unchanged. About the side he chooses to take in a contest for dominion, they ask no questions, and feel no responsibility. God has placed their destinies in dependence upon his; and to him they cling to the last. In Malwa, Bhopal, and other parts of central India, the Mahomedan rule could be established over that of the Rajpoot chiefs, only by the entire annihilation of the race of their followers. In no part of the world has the devotion of soldiers to their immediate chief, been more remarkable than in India among the Rajpoots; and in no part of the world has the fidelity of these chiefs to the paramount power been more unsteady, or their devotion less to be relied upon. The laws of Mahomed, which prescribe that the property in land shall be divided equally among the sons, leaves no rule for succession to territorial or political dominion. It has been justly observed by Hume—"The right of primogeniture was introduced with the feudal law; an institution which is hurtful, by producing and maintaining an unequal division of property; but it is advantageous in another respect, by accustoming the people to a preference in favour of the eldest son, and thereby preventing a partition or disputed succession in the monarchy."

Among the Mahomedan princes there was no law that bound the whole members of a family to obey the eldest son of a deceased prince. Every son of the Emperor of Hindoostan considered that he had a right to set up his claim to the throne, vacated by the death of his father; and, in anticipation of that death, to strengthen his means of establishing such claim by negociations and intrigues with all the territorial chiefs and influential nobles of the empire. However *prejudicial to the interests* of his elder brothers such measures might be, they were never considered to be an *invasion of his rights*, because such rights had never been established by the laws of their prophet. As all the sons considered that they had an equal right to solicit the support of the chiefs and nobles, so all the chiefs and nobles considered that they could adopt the cause of whichever *son* they chose, without incurring the reproach of either *treason* or dishonour. The one who succeeded thought himself justified by the law of self-preservation, to put, not only his brothers, but all their sons to death; so that there was, after every new succession, an entire *clearance* of all the male members of the imperial family! Ourungzebe said to his pedantic tutor, who wished to be raised to high station on his accession to the imperial throne, "Should not you, instead of your flattery, have taught me somewhat of that point so important to a king, which is, what are the reciprocal duties of a sovereign to his subjects, and those of the subjects to their sovereign?

And ought not you to have considered, that one day I should be obliged, with the sword, to dispute my life and the crown with my brothers? Is not that the destiny almost of all the sons of Hindoostan?" * Now that they have become pensioners of the British government, the members increase like white ants; and, as Malthus has it, "press so hard against their means of subsistence," that a great many of them are absolutely starving, in spite of the enormous pension the head of the family receives for their maintenance!

The city of Duteea is surrounded by a stone wall about thirty feet high, with its foundation on a solid rock; but it has no ditch or glacis, and is capable of little or no defence against cannon. In the afternoon I went, accompanied by Lieutenant Thomas, and followed by the best cortège we could muster, to return the Rajah's visit. He resides within the walls of the city in a large square garden, enclosed with a high wall, and filled with fine orange trees, at this time bending under the weight of the most delicious fruit. The old chief received us at the bottom of a fine flight of steps leading up to a handsome pavilion, built upon the wall of one of the faces of this garden. It was enclosed at the back, and in front looked into the garden through open arcades. The floors were spread with handsome carpets of the Jansee manufacture. In front of the pavilion was a wide terrace of polished stone, extending to the top of the flight

* Bernier's Revolution of the Mogul Empire.

of steps; and in the centre of this terrace, and directly opposite to us, as we looked out into the garden, was a fine jet d'eau in a large basin of water in full play, and with its shower of diamonds, showing off the rich green and red of the orange trees to the best advantage.

The large quadrangle thus occupied is called the killah or fort, and the wall that surrounds it is thirty feet high, with a round embattled tower at each corner. On the east face is a fine large gateway for the entrance, with a curtain as high as the wall itself. Inside the gate is a piece of ordnance painted red, with the largest calibre I ever saw. This is fired once a year, at the festival of the Duseera. Our arrival at the wall was announced by a salute from some fine brass guns upon the bastions near the gateway. As we advanced from the gateway up through the garden to the pavilion, we were again serenaded by our friends with their guitars and excellent voices. They were now on foot, and arranged along both sides of the walk that we had to pass through. The open garden space within the walls appeared to me to be about ten acres. It is crossed and recrossed at right angles by numerous walks, having rows of plantain and other fruit-trees on each side; and orange, pomegranate, and other small fruit trees to fill the space between; and anything more rich and luxuriant one can hardly conceive. In the centre of the north and west sides are pavilions with apartments for the family above, behind, and on each

side of the great reception room, exactly similar to that in which we were received on the south face. The whole formed, I think, the most delightful residence that I have seen, for a hot climate. There is, however, no doubt that the most healthy stations in this, and every other hot climate, are those situated upon dry, open, sandy plains, with neither shrubberies nor basins.

We were introduced to the young Rajah, the old man's adopted son, a lad of about ten years of age, who is to be married in February next. He is plain in person, but has a pleasing expression of countenance; and if he be moulded after the old man, and not after his minister, the country may perhaps have in him the "*lucky accident*" of a good governor.* I have rarely seen a finer or more prepossessing man than the Rajah, and all his subjects speak well of him. We had an elephant, a horse, abundance of shawls, and other fine clothes placed before us as presents; but I prayed the old gentleman to keep them all for me till I returned, as I was a mere voyageur without the means of carrying

* This lad has since succeeded his adoptive father as the chief of the Duteea principality. The old chief found him one day lying in the grass, as he was shooting through one of his preserves. His elephant was very near treading upon the infant before he saw it. He brought home the boy, adopted him as his son, and declared him his successor, from having no son of his own. The British government, finding that the people generally seemed to acquiesce in the old man's wishes, sanctioned the measure as the paramount power.

such valuable things in safety; but he would not be satisfied till I had taken two plain hilts of swords, and two spears, the manufacture of Duteea, and of little value, which Lieutenant Thomas and I promised to keep for his sake. The rest of the presents were all taken back to their places. After an hour's talk with the old man and his ministers, ottar of roses and pawn were distributed, and we took our leave to go and visit the old palace, which, as yet, we had seen only from a distance. There were only two men beside the Rajah, his son, and ourselves, seated upon chairs. All the other principal persons of the court sat around cross-legged on the carpet; but they joined freely in the conversation. I was told by these courtiers how often the young chief had, during the day, asked when he would have the happiness of seeing me; and the old chief was told, in my hearing, how many *good things* I had said since I came into his territories, all tending to his honour and my credit. This is a species of barefaced flattery, to which we are all doomed to submit in our intercourse with these native chiefs; but still, to a man of sense, it never ceases to be distressing and offensive; for he can hardly ever help feeling that they must think him a mere child before they could venture to treat him with it. This is, however, to put too harsh a construction upon what, in reality, the people mean only as civility; and they who can so easily consider the grandfathers of their chiefs as gods, and worship them as such, may be suffered to

in the long grass and brushwood which grow luxuriantly at some distance from the city. Had we come out a couple of miles the day before, we might have had noble sport, and really required the *forbearance* and *humanity*, to which we had so magnanimously resolved to sacrifice our "pride of art," as sportsmen; for we saw many herds of the neelgae, antelope, and spotted deer, browsing within a few paces of us, within the long grass and brushwood on both sides of the road. We could not stay, however, to indulge in much sport, having a long march before us.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

BHOOMEEAWUT.

THOUGH, no doubt, very familiar to our ancestors during the middle ages, this is a thing happily but little understood in Europe at the present day. Bhoomeeawut, in Bundelcund, signifies a war or fight for landed inheritance, from Bhoom, the land, earth, &c.; Bhoomeea, a landed proprietor.

When a member of the landed aristocracy, no matter however small, has a dispute with his ruler, he collects his followers, and levies indiscriminate war upon his territories, plundering and burning his towns and villages, and murdering their inhabitants, till he is invited back upon his own terms. During this war, *it is a point of honour not to allow* a single acre of land to be tilled upon the estate which he has deserted, or from which he has been driven; and he will murder any man who attempts to drive a plough in it, together with all his family, if he can. The smallest member of this landed aristocracy of

the Hindoo military class, will often cause a terrible devastation during the interval that he is engaged in his Bhoomeeawut; for there are always vast numbers of loose characters floating upon the surface of Indian society, ready to "gird up their loins" and use their sharp swords in the service of marauders of this kind, when they cannot get employment in that of the constituted authorities of government.

Such a marauder has generally the sympathy of nearly all the members of his own class and clan, who are apt to think that his case may one day be their own. He is thus looked upon as contending for the interests of all: and if his chief happens to be on bad terms with other chiefs in the neighbourhood, the latter will clandestinely support the outlaw and his cause, by giving him and his followers shelter in their hills and jungles, and concealing their families and stolen property in their castles. It is a maxim in India, and in the less settled parts of it a very true one, that "*one Pindara or robber makes a hundred;*" that is, where one robber, by a series of atrocious murders and robberies, frightens the people into non-resistance, a hundred loose characters from among the peasantry of the country will take advantage of the occasion, and adopt his name, in order to plunder with the smallest possible degree of personal risk to themselves.

Some magistrates and local rulers, under such circumstances, have very unwisely adopted the measure

of prohibiting the people from carrying or having arms in their houses, the very thing which, above all others, such robbers most wish; for they know, though such magistrates and rulers do not, that it is the innocent only, and the friends to order, who will obey the command. The robber will always be able to conceal his arms, or keep with them out of the reach of the magistrate; and he is now relieved altogether from the salutary dread of a shot from a door or window. He may rob at his leisure, or sit down like a gentleman, and have all that the people of the surrounding towns and villages possess brought to him, for no man can any longer attempt to defend himself or his family.

Weak governments are obliged soon to invite back the robber on his own terms, for the people can pay them no revenue, being prevented from cultivating their lands, and obliged to give all they have to the robbers, or submit to be plundered of it. Jansee and Jhalone are exceedingly weak governments, from having their territories studded with estates held rent-free or at a quit-rent, by Powar, Bondela, and Dhundele barons, who have always the sympathy of the numerous chiefs and their barons of the same clans around.

In the year 1832, the Powar barons, of the estates of Nonnere, Signee, Odegow, and Belchree, in Jansee, had some cause of dissatisfaction with their chief, and this they presented to Lord William Bentinck as he passed through the province in December.

His lordship told them, that these were questions of internal administration which they must settle among themselves, as the supreme government would not interfere. They had therefore only one way of settling such disputes, and that was to raise the standard of Bhoomeeawut, and cry, "To your tents, O Israel." This they did; and though the Jansee chief had a military force of twelve thousand men, they burnt down every town and village in the territory that did not come into their terms, and the chief had possession of only two—Jansee, the capital, and the large commercial town of Mow, when the Bondela Rajahs of Orcha and Duteea, who had hitherto clandestinely supported the insurgents, consented to become the arbitrators. A suspension of arms followed, the barons got all they demanded, and the Bhoomeeawut ceased. But the Jansee chief, who had hitherto lent large sums to the other chiefs in the province, was reduced to the necessity of borrowing from them all, and from Gwalior, and mortgaging to them a good portion of his lands.

Gwalior is itself weak in the same way. A great portion of its lands are held by barons of the Hindoo military classes, equally addicted to Bhoomeeawut, and one or more of them is always engaged in this kind of indiscriminate warfare; and it must be confessed, that unless they are always considered to be ready to engage in it, they have very little chance of retaining their possessions on moderate terms, for

these weak governments are generally the most rapacious when they have it in their power.

A good deal of the lands of the Mahomedan sovereign of Oude are, in the same manner, held by barons of the Rajpoot tribe; and some of them are almost always in the field engaged in the same kind of warfare against their sovereign. The baron who pursues it with vigour is almost sure to be invited back upon his own terms very soon. If his lands are worth a hundred thousand a year, he will get them for ten; and have this remitted for the next five years, till ready for another Bhoomeeawut, on the ground of the injuries sustained during the last, from which his estate has to recover. The baron who is peaceable and obedient soon gets rack-rented out of his estate, and reduced to beggary.

In 1818, some companies of my regiment were, for several months, employed in Oude, after a young Bhoomeeawutee of this kind, Sew Ruttun Sing. He was the nephew and heir of the Rajah of Pertabgur, who wished to exclude him from his inheritance by the adoption of a brother of his young bride. Sew Ruttun had a small village for his maintenance, and said nothing to his old uncle till the governor of the province, Gholam Hoseyn, accepted an invitation to be present at the ceremony of adoption. He knew that if he acquiesced any longer he would lose his inheritance, and cried, "To your tents, O Israel." He got a small band of three hundred

Rajpoots, with nothing but their swords, shields, and spears, to follow him, all of the same clan, and true men. They were bivouacked in a jungle not more than seven miles from our cantonments at Pertabgur, when Gholam Hoseyn marched to attack them with three regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and two nine-pounders. He thought he should surprise them, and contrived so that he should come upon them about daybreak. Sew Ruttun knew all his plans. He placed one hundred and fifty of his men in ambuscade at the entrance of the jungle, and kept the other hundred and fifty by him in the centre. When they had got well in, the party in ambush rushed upon the rear, while he attacked them in front. After a short resistance, Gholam Hoseyn's force took to flight, leaving five hundred men dead on the field, and their two guns behind them. Gholam Hoseyn was so ashamed of the drubbing he got, that he bribed all the news writers, within twenty miles of the place, to say nothing about it in their reports to court, and he never made any report of it himself. A detachment of my regiment passed over the dead bodies in the course of the day, on their return to cantonments from detached command, or we should have known nothing about it. It is true, we heard the firing, but that we heard every day; and I have seen from my bungalow half a dozen villages in flames, at the same time, from this species of contest between the Rajpoot landholders and the govern-

ment authorities. Our cantonments were generally full of the women and children who had been burnt out of house and home.

In Oude such contests generally begin with the harvests. During the season of tillage all is quiet; but when the crops begin to ripen, the governor begins to rise in his demands for revenue; and the Rajpoot landholders and cultivators to sharpen their swords and burnish their spears. One hundred of them always consider themselves a match for one thousand of the king's troops in a fair field, because they have all one heart and soul, while the king's troops have many.

While the Powars were ravaging the Jansee state with their Bhoomeeawut, a merchant of Saugor had a large convoy of valuable cloths, to the amount, I think, of forty thousand rupees, intercepted by them on its way from Mirzapore to Rajpootannah. I was then at Saugor, and wrote off to the insurgents to say that they had mistaken one of our subjects for one of the Jansee chiefs, and must release the convoy. They did so, and not a piece of the cloth was lost. This Bhoomeeawut is supposed to have cost the Jansee chief above twenty lacs of rupees, and his subjects double that sum.

Gopaul Sing, a Bondela, who had been in the service of the chief of Punna, took to Bhoomeeawut, in 1809, and kept a large British force employed in pursuit through Bundelcund and the Saugor territo-

ries for three years, till he was invited back by our government, in the year 1812, by the gift of a fine estate on the banks of the Dussan river, yielding twenty thousand rupees a year, which his son now enjoys, and which is to descend to his posterity, many of whom will, no doubt, animated by their fortunate ancestor's example, take to the same trade. He had been a man of no note till he took to this trade, but by his predatory exploits he soon became celebrated throughout India; and when I came to the country no other man's chivalry was so much talked off.

A Bondela, or other landholder of the Hindoo military class, does not think himself, nor is he indeed thought by others, in the slightest degree less respectable for having waged this indiscriminate war upon the innocent and unoffending, provided he has any cause of dissatisfaction with his liege lord—that is, provided he cannot get his lands or his appointment in his service upon his own terms—because all others of the same class and clan feel more or less interested in his success. They feel that their tenure of land, or of office, is improved by the mischief he does; because every peasant he murders, and every field he throws out of tillage, affects their liege lord in his most tender point, his treasury; and indisposes him to interfere with their salaries, their privileges, or their rents. He who wages this war goes on marrying his sisters or his daughters to the other barons or landholders of the same clan, and receiving theirs

in marriage during the whole of his *Bhoomeeawut*, as if nothing at all extraordinary had happened, and thereby strengthening his hand at the game he is playing.

Omrow Sing, of Jaklone, in Chunderee, a district of Gwalior, bordering upon Saugor, has been at this game for more than fifteen years out of the last twenty, but his alliances among the baronial families around have not been in the slightest degree affected by it. His sons and his grandsons have, perhaps, made better matches than they might, had the old man been at peace with all the world, during the time that he has been desolating one district by his atrocities, aud demoralizing all those around it by his example, and by inviting the youth to join him occasionally in his murderous enterprises. Neither age nor sex is respected in their attacks upon towns and villages; and no Mahomedan can take more pride and pleasure in defacing idols—the most monstrous idol—than a Bhoomeeawutee takes in maiming an innocent peasant, who presumes to drive his plough in lands that he chooses to put under the *ban*.

In the kingdom of Oude this Bhoomeeawut is a kind of nursery for our native army, for the sons of Rajpoot yeomen, who have been trained in it, are all exceedingly anxious to enlist in our native infantry regiments, having no dislike to their drill or their uniform. The same class of men in Bundelcund and the Gwalior state, have a great horror of

the drill and uniform of our regular infantry; and nothing can induce them to enlist in our ranks. Both are equally brave, and equally faithful to their salt—that is, to the person who employs them; but the Oude Rajpoot is a much more tameable amiable than the Bondela. In Oude, this class of people have all inherited from their fathers a respect for our rule, and a love for our service. In Bundelcund they have not yet become reconciled to our service; and they still look upon our rule as interfering a good deal too much with their sporting propensities.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE SUICIDE—RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS AND CHILDREN IN INDIA.

THE day before we left Duteea, our cook had a violent dispute with his mother, a thing of almost daily occurrence; for though a very fat and handsome old lady, she was a very violent one. He was a quiet man, but unable to bear any longer the abuse she was heaping upon him, he first took up a pitcher of water and flung it at her head. It missed her, and he then snatched up a stick, and, for the first time in his life, struck her. He was her only son. She quietly took up all her things; and walking off towards a temple, said she would leave him for ever; and he having passed the *rubicon* declared, that he was resolved no longer to submit to the parental tyranny, which she had hitherto exercised over him. My water carrier, however, prevailed upon her with much difficulty to return, and take up her quarters with him and his wife and five children in a small tent we had given them. Maddened at the thought

of a blow from her only son, the old lady about sunset swallowed a large quantity of opium; and before the circumstance was discovered, it was too late to apply a remedy. We were told of it about eight o'clock at night, and found her lying in her son's arms—tried every remedy at hand, but without success, and about midnight she died. She loved her son, and he respected her; and yet not a day passed without their having some desperate quarrel, generally about the orphan daughter of her brother, who lived with them, and was to be married as soon as the cook could save, out of his pay, money enough to defray the expenses of the ceremonies. The old woman was always reproaching him for not saving money fast enough. This little cousin had now stolen some of the cook's tobacco for his young assistant; and the old lady thought it right to admonish her. The cook likewise thought it right to add his admonitions to those of his mother; but the old lady would have her niece abused by nobody but herself, and she flew into a violent passion at his presuming to interfere. This led to the son's outrage, and the mother's suicide. The son is a mild, good-tempered young man, who bears an excellent character among his equals; and is a very good servant. Had he been less mild it had perhaps been better; for his mother would by degrees have given up that despotic sway over her child, which in infancy is necessary, in youth useful, but in manhood becomes intolerable. "God defend us from the *anger* of the mild in spirit."

said an excellent judge of human nature, Mahomed, the founder of this cook's religion; and certainly the mildest tempers are those which become the most ungovernable when roused beyond a certain degree; and the proud spirit of the old woman could not brook the outrage which her son, when so roused, had been guilty of. From the time that she was discovered to have taken poison till she breathed her last, she lay in the arms of the poor man, who besought her to live, that her only son might atone for his crime, and not be a parricide!

There is no part of the world, I believe, where parents are so much reverenced by their sons as they are in India in all classes of society. This is sufficiently evinced in the desire that parents feel to have sons. The duty of daughters is from the day of their marriage transferred entirely to their husbands and their husbands' parents, on whom alone devolves the duty of protecting and supporting them through the wedded and the widowed state. The links that united them to their parents are broken. All the reciprocity of rights and duties which have bound together the parent and child from infancy, is considered to end with the consummation of her marriage; nor does the stain of any subsequent female *backsliding* ever affect the family of her parents—it can affect that only of her husband, which is held alone responsible for her conduct. If a widow inherits the property of her husband, on her death the property would go to the widow of her

husband's brother, supposing neither had any children by their husbands, in preference to her own brother: but between the son and his parents this reciprocity of rights and duties follows them to the grave. One is delighted to see in sons this habitual reverence for the mother; but, as in the present case, it is too apt to occasion a domineering spirit, which produces much mischief even in private families, but still more in sovereign ones. A prince, when he attains the age of manhood, and ought to take upon himself the duties of the government, is often obliged to witness a great deal of oppression and misrule from his inability to persuade his widowed mother to resign the power willingly into his hands. He often tamely submits to see his country ruined, and his family dishonoured, as at Jhansee, before he can bring himself, by some act of desperate resolution, to wrest it from her grasp. In order to prevent his doing so, or to recover the reins he has thus obtained, the mother has often been known to poison her own son; and many a princess in India, like Isabella of England, has, I believe, destroyed her husband, to enjoy more freely the society of her paramour, and hold those reins during the minority of her son.

In the exercise of dominion from behind the curtain (for it is those who live behind the curtain that seem most anxious to hold it) women select ministers who, to secure duration to their influence, become their paramours; or at least make the world believe

that they are so, to serve their own selfish purposes. The sons are tyrannised over through youth by their mothers, who endeavour to subdue their spirit to the yoke, which they wish to bind heavy upon their necks for life; and they remain through manhood timid, ignorant, and altogether unfitted for the conduct of public affairs, and for the government of men under a despotic rule, whose essential principle is a *salutary fear* of the prince in the minds of all his public officers. Every unlettered native of India is as sensible of this principle as Montesquieu was; and will tell us, that in countries like India, a chief, to govern well, must have a *smack of the devil* (shytan) in him; for if he has not, his public servants will prey upon his innocent and industrious subjects. In India there are no universities or public schools in which young men might escape, as they do in Europe, from the enervating and stultifying influence of the Zunana. The state of mental imbecility to which a youth of naturally average powers of mind, born to territorial dominion, is in India often reduced by a haughty and ambitious mother, would be absolutely incredible to a man bred up in such schools. They are often utterly unable to act, think, or speak for themselves. If they happen, as they sometimes do, to get well informed in reading and conversation, they remain Hamlet-like, nervous and diffident; and however speculatively or *ruminatively* wise, quite unfit for action, or for performing their part in the great drama of life.

In my evening ramble on the bank of the river, which was flowing against the wind, and rising into waves, my mind wandered back to the hours of infancy and boyhood, when I sat with my brothers watching our little vessels as they scudded over the ponds and streams of my native land; and then of my poor brothers John and Louis, whose bones now lie beneath the ocean. As we advance in age the dearest scenes of early days must necessarily become more and more associated in our recollection with painful feelings; for they who enjoyed such scenes with us must by degrees pass away, and be remembered with sorrow even by those who are conscious of having fulfilled all their duties in life towards them—but with how much more by those, who can never remember them without thinking of occasions of kindness and assistance neglected or disregarded! Many of them have perhaps left behind them widows and children struggling with adversity, and soliciting from us aid which we strive in vain to give.

During my visit to the Rajah, a person in the disguise of one of my sipahees went to a shop and purchased for me five and twenty rupees worth of fine Europe chintz, for which he paid in good rupees, which were forthwith assayed by a neighbouring goldsmith. The sipahee put these rupees into his own purse and laid it down, saying, that he should go and ascertain from me whether I wished to keep the whole of the chintz or not; and if not he should require back the same money—that I was to halt to-

morrow, when he would return to the shop again. Just as he was going away, however, he recollected that he wanted a turban for himself; and requested the shopkeeper to bring him one. They were sitting in the verandah, and the shopkeeper had to go into his shop to bring out the turban. When he came out with it, the sipahee said it would not suit his purpose; and went off, leaving the purse where it lay; and cautioning the shopkeeper against changing any of the rupees, as he should require his own identical money back if his master rejected any of the chintz. The shopkeeper waited till four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day without looking into the purse. Hearing then that I had left Duteea, and seeing no signs of the sipahee, he opened the purse and found that the rupees were all copper, with a thin coating of silver. The man had changed them while he went into the shop for a turban; and substituted a purse exactly the same in appearance. After ascertaining that the story was true, and that the ingenious thief was not one of my followers, I insisted upon the man's taking his money from me, in spite of a great deal of remonstrance on the part of the Rajah's agent, who had come on with us.

CHAPTER XXXV.

GWALIOR PLAIN ONCE THE BED OF A LAKE—TAMENESS OF PEACOCKS.

On the 19th, 20th, and 21st, we came on forty miles to the village of Antree in the Gwalior territory, over a fine plain of rich alluvial soil under spring crops. This plain bears manifest signs of having been at no very remote period, like the kingdom of Bohemia, the bed of a vast lake, bounded by the ranges of sandstone hills which now seem to skirt the horizon all round; and studded with innumerable islands of all shapes and sizes, which now rise abruptly in all directions out of the cultivated plain. The plain is still like the unruffled surface of a vast lake; and the rich green of the spring crops, which cover the surface in one wide sheet intersected by hedges, tends to keep up the illusion, which the rivers have little tendency to dispel; for though they have cut their way down immense depths to their present beds through the rich alluvial deposit, the traveller no sooner emerges from the

hideous ravines which disfigure their banks, than he loses all trace of them. Their course is unmarked by trees, large shrubs, or any of the signs which mark the course of rivers in other quarters. The soil over the vast plain is everywhere of good quality, and everywhere cultivated, or rather worked, for we can hardly consider a soil cultivated which is never either irrigated or manured, or voluntarily relieved by fallows or an alternation of crops, till it has descended to the last stage of exhaustion. The prince rack-rents the farmer, the farmer rack-rents the cultivator, and the cultivator rack-rents the soil. Soon after crossing the Scinde river we enter upon the territories of the Gwalior chief, Sindheea.

The villages are everywhere few, and their communities very small. The greater part of the produce goes for sale to the capital of Gwalior, where the money it brings is paid into the treasury in rent, or revenue to the chief, who distributes it in salaries among his establishments, who again pay it for land produce to the cultivators, farmers, and agricultural capitalists, who again pay it back into the treasury in land revenue. No more people reside in the villages than are absolutely necessary to the cultivation of the land, because the chief takes all the produce beyond what is necessary for their bare subsistence; and out of what he takes, maintains establishments that reside elsewhere. There is nowhere any jungle to be seen, and very few of the villages that are scattered over the plains have any

fruit or ornamental trees left; and when the spring crops, to which the tillage is chiefly confined, are taken off the ground, the face of the country must have a very naked and dreary appearance. Near one village on the road I saw some men threshing corn in a field, and among them a peacock (which of course I took to be domesticated) breakfasting very comfortably upon the grain as it flew around him. A little farther on, I saw another quietly working his way into a stack of corn, as if he understood it to have been made for his use alone. It was so close to me as I passed, that I put out my stick to push it off in play; and to my surprise it flew off in a fright at my white face and strange dress, and was followed by the others. I found that they were all wild, if that term can be applied to birds that live on such excellent terms with mankind. On reaching our tents we found several feeding in the corn-fields close around them, undisturbed by our host of camp followers; and were told by the villagers, who had assembled to greet us, that they were all wild. "Why," said they, "should we think of *keeping* birds that live among us on such easy terms without being *kept?*" I asked whether they ever shot them; and was told, that they never killed or molested them; but that any one who wished to shoot them might do so, since they had here no religious regard for them. Like the pareear dogs, the peacocks seem to disarm the people by confiding in them—their tameness is at once the cause and the

effect of their security. The members of the little communities, among whom they live on such friendly terms, would not have the heart to shoot them; and travellers either take them to be domesticated, or are at once disarmed by their tameness.

At Autree, a sufficient quantity of salt is manufactured for the consumption of the people of the town. The earth that contains most salt is dug up at some distance from the town, and brought to small reservoirs made close outside the walls. Water is here poured over it as over tea and coffee. Passing through the earth, it flows out below into a small conduit, which takes it to small pits some yards distance, whence it is removed in buckets to small enclosed platforms, where it is exposed to the sun's rays till the water evaporates, and leaves the salt dry. The want of trees over this vast plain of fine soil from the Scinde river, is quite lamentable. The people of Antree pointed out the place close to my tents where a beautiful grove of mango trees had been lately taken off to Gwalior for *gun carriages* and fire wood, in spite of all the proprietor could urge of the detriment to his own interest in this world, and to those of his ancestors in that to which they had gone! Wherever the army of this chief moved they invariably swept off the groves of fruit trees in the same reckless manner. Parts of the country which they merely passed through have recovered their trees, because the desire to propitiate the Deity and to perpetuate their name by such a

work, will always operate among Hindoos as a sufficient incentive to secure groves wherever men can be made to feel that their rights of property in the trees will be respected. The lands around the village, which had a well *for irrigation*, paid four times as much as those of the same quality which had none, and were made to yield two crops in the year. As everywhere else, so here, those lands into which water flows *from* the town, and can be made to stand *for a* time, are esteemed the best, as this water brings down with it manures of all kinds. I had a good deal of talk with the cultivators as I walked through their fields in the evenings; and they seemed to dwell much upon the good faith which is observed by the farmers and cultivators in the honourable Company's territories; and the total absence of it in those of Sindheea's, where no work, requiring an outlay of capital upon the land, is, in consequence, ever thought of, both farmers and cultivators engaging from year to year, and no farmer ever feeling secure of his lease for more than one.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

GWALIOR AND ITS GOVERNMENT.

On the 22nd, we came on fourteen miles to Gwalior, over some ranges of sandstone hills, which are seemingly continuations of the Vindhya range. Hills of indurated brown and red iron clay repose upon and intervene between these ranges, with strata generally horizontal, but occasionally bearing signs of having been shaken by internal convulsions. These convulsions are also indicated by some dykes of compact basalt which cross the road.

Nothing can be more unprepossessing than the approach to Gwalior; the hills being naked, black, and ugly, with rounded tops devoid of grass or shrubs, and the soil of the valleys, a poor red dust without any appearance of verdure or vegetation, since the few autumn crops that lately stood upon them have been removed. From Antree to Gwalior there is no sign of any human habitation, save that of a miserable police guard of four or five, who occupy a wretched hut on the side of the road midway, and

seem, by their presence, to render the scene around more dreary.* The road is a mere footpath unimproved and unadorned by any single work of art; and except in this footpath, and the small police guard, there is absolutely no single sign in all this long march to indicate the dominion or even the presence of man; and yet it is between two contiguous capitals, one occupied by one of the most ancient, and the other by one of the greatest native sovereigns of Hindoostan. One cannot but feel, that he approaches the capital of a dynasty of barbarian princes, who, like Attila, would choose their places of residence as devils choose their pandemonia, for their ugliness; and rather reside in the dreary wastes of Tartary than on the shores of the Bosphorus! There are within the dominions of Sindheea seats for a capital that would not yield to any in India in convenience, beauty, and salubrity; but in all these dominions there is not, perhaps, another place so hideously ugly as Gwalior, or so hot and unhealthy. It has not one redeeming quality that should recommend it to the choice of a rational prince, particularly to one who still considers his capital as his camp, and makes every officer of his army feel, that he has as little of permanent interest in his house as he would have in his tent.

* Johnson, in his journey to the western islands, observes, "Now and then we espied a little corn-field, which served to impress more strongly the general barrenness."

Phool Bag, or the *flower-garden*, was suggested to me as the best place for my tents, where Sindheea had built a splendid summer-house. As I came over this most gloomy and uninteresting march, in which the heart of a rational man sickens as he recollects that all the revenues of such an enormous extent of dominion over the richest soil, and the most peaceable people in the world, should have been so long concentrated upon this point, and squandered without leaving one sign of human art or industry, I looked forward with pleasure to a quiet residence in the *flower-garden*, with good foliage above, and a fine sward below, and an atmosphere free from dust, such as we find in and around all the residences of Mahomedan princes. On reaching my tents I found them pitched close outside the *flower-garden*, in a small dusty plain, without a blade of grass or a shrub to hide its deformity—just such a place as the pig-keepers occupy in the suburbs of other towns. On one side of this little plain, and looking into it, was the *summer-house* of the prince, without one inch of green sward, or one small shrub before it. Around the wretched little *flower-garden* was a low, naked, and shattered mud wall, such as we generally see in suburbs, thrown up to keep out and in the pigs, that usually swarm in such places—"and the swine they crawled out, and the swine they crawled in!" When I cantered up to my tent-door, a sipahee of my guard came up, and reported, that as day began to dawn a gang of thieves

had stolen one of my best carpets, all the brass brackets of my tent-poles, and the brass bell with which the sentries on duty sounded the hour; all Lieutenant Thomas's cooking utensils, and many other things, several of which they had found lying between the tents and the prince's *pleasure house*, particularly the contents of a large heavy box of *geological specimens!* They had, in consequence, concluded the gang to be lodged in the prince's pleasure-house. The guard on duty at this place would make no answer to their inquiries, and I really believe that they were themselves the thieves. The tents of the Rajah of Raghoghur, who had come to pay his respects to the Sindeea, his liege lord, were pitched near mine. He had the day before had five horses stolen from him, with all the plate, jewels, and valuable clothes he possessed; and I was told that I must move forthwith from the *flower-garden*, or cut off the tail of every horse in my camp. Without tails they might not be stolen—with them they certainly would! Having had sufficient proof of their dexterity, we moved our tents to a grove near the residency, four miles from the flower-garden and the court.

As a citizen of the world, I could not help thinking that it would be an immense blessing upon a large portion of our species if an earthquake were to swallow up this court of Gwalior, and the army that surrounds it. Nothing worse could possibly succeed; and something better might. It is lament-

able to think how much of evil this court and camp inflict upon the people who are subject to them. In January, 1828, I was passing with a party of gentlemen through the town of Bhilsa, which belongs to this chief, and lies between Saugor and Bhopaul, when we found, lying and bleeding in one of the streets, twelve men belonging to a merchant at Mirzapore, who had the day before been wounded and plundered by a gang of robbers close outside the walls of the town. Those who were able ran in to the Amib, or chief of the district, who resides in the town; and begged him to send some horsemen after the banditti, and intercept them as they passed over the great plains. "Send your own people," said he, "or hire men to send! Am I here to look after the private affair of merchants and travellers, or to collect the revenues of the prince?" Neither he nor the prince himself, nor any other officer of the public establishments, ever dreamed that it was their duty to protect the life, property, or character of travellers, or indeed of any other human beings, save the members of their own families. In this pithy question, the Amib of Bhilsa described the nature and character of the government. All the revenues of his immense dominions are spent entirely in the maintenance of the court and camp of the prince; and every officer employed beyond the boundary of this court and camp, considers his duties to be limited to the collection of the revenue. Protected from all external enemies by our military forces, which sur-

round him on every side, his whole army is left to him for purposes of parade and display; and having, according to his notions, no use for them elsewhere, he concentrates them around his capital, where he lives among them in the perpetual dread of mutiny and assassination! He has nowhere any police, nor any establishment whatever, for the protection of the life and property of his subjects; nor has he, any more than his predecessors, ever, I believe, for one moment thought, that those from whose industry and frugality he draws his revenues have any right whatever to expect from him the use of such establishments in return. They have never formed any legitimate part of the Mahratta government, and, I fear, never will.

The misrule of such states, situated in the midst of our dominions, is not without its use. There is, as Gibbon justly observes, "a strong propensity in human nature to depreciate the advantages, and to magnify the evils of the present times;" and if the people had not before their eyes such specimens of native rule, to contrast with ours, they would think more highly than they do of that of their past Mahomedan and Hindoo sovereigns; and be much less disposed than they are to estimate fairly the advantages of being under ours. The native governments of the present day are fair specimens of what they have always been—grinding military despotisms—their whole history is that of "Saul has killed his thousands, and David his tens of thousands;" as if rulers were made merely to slay, and the ruled to be

slain! In politics, as in landscape, "'Tis distance lands enchantments to the view," and the past might be all *couleur de rose* in the imaginations of the people, were it not represented in these ill-governed states, where the "lucky accident" of a good governor is not to be expected in a century; and where the secret of the responsibility of ministers to the people is yet undiscovered.

The fortress of Gwalior stands upon a table land, a mile and a half long by a quarter of a mile wide, at the north-east end of a small insulated sandstone hill, running north-east and south-west, and rising at both ends about three hundred and forty feet above the level of the plain below. At the base is a kind of glacis, which runs up at an angle of forty-five from the plain to within fifty, and in some places within twenty feet, of the foot of the wall. The interval is the perpendicular face of the horizontal strata of the sandstone rock. The glacis is formed of a bed of basalt in all stages of decomposition, with which this, like the other sandstone hills of Céntral India, was once covered, and of the debris and chippings of the rocks above. The walls are raised a certain uniform height all round upon the verge of the precipice, and being thus made to correspond with the edge of the rock, the line is extremely irregular. They are rudely built of the fine sandstone of the rock on which they stand, and have some square and some semicircular bastions of different sizes—few of these raised above the level of the wall itself. On the

eastern face of the rock, between the glacis and foot of the wall, are cut out in bold relief, the colossal figures of men sitting bareheaded under canopies, on each side of a throne or temple; and in another place, the colossal figure of a man standing naked, and facing outward, which I took to be that of Boodh. The town of Gwalior extends along the foot of the glacis on one side, and consists of a single street above a mile long; there is a very beautiful mosque, with one end built by a Mahomed Khan, A. D. 1665, of the white sandstone of the rock above it. It looks as fresh as if it had not been finished a month; and, struck, as I passed it, with so noble a work, apparently new, and under such a government, I alighted from my horse, went in, and read the inscription, which told me the date of the building and the name of the founder. There is no stucco-work over any part of it, nor is any required on such beautiful materials; and the stones are all so nicely cut, that cement seems to have been considered useless. It has the usual two minarets or towers, and over the arches and alcoves are carved, as customary, passages from the Koran, in the beautiful Kufik characters. The court and camp of the chief extends out from the southern end of the hill for several miles.

The whole of the hill on which the fort of Gwalior stands, had evidently, at no very distant period, been covered by a mass of basalt, surmounted by a crust of indurated brown and red iron clay, with lithomarge, which often assumes the appearance of

common laterite. The boulders of basalt, which still cap some part of the hill, and form the greater part of the glacis at the bottom, are for the most part in a state of rapid decomposition; but some of them are still so hard and fresh, that the hammer rings upon them as upon a bell, and their fracture is brilliantly crystalline. The basalt is the same as that which caps the sandstone hills of the Vindhya range throughout Malwa. The sandstone hills around Gwalior all rise in the same abrupt manner from the plain, as those through Malwa generally; and they have almost all of them the same basaltic glacis at their base, with boulders of that rock scattered over the top, all indicating that they were at one time buried in the same manner, under one great mass of volcanic matter, thrown out from their submarine craters in streams of lava, or diffused through the ocean or lakes in ashes, and deposited in strata. The geological character of the country about Gwalior is very similar to that of the country about Saugor; and I may say the same of the Vindhya range generally, as far as I have seen it, from Mirzapore on the Ganges, to Bhopaul in Malwa—hills of sandstone rising suddenly from alluvial plain, and capped, or bearing signs of having been capped, by basalt, reposing immediately upon it, and partly covered in its turn by beds of indurated iron clay.

The fortress of Gwalior was celebrated for its strength under the Hindoo sovereigns of India; but was taken by the Mahomedans after a long siege,

A. D. 1197. The Hindoos regained possession, but were again expelled by the Emperor Altumash, A. D. 1235. The Hindoos again got possession, and after holding it one hundred years, again surrendered it to the forces of the Emperor Ibraham, A. D. 1519. In 1543 it was surrendered up by the troops of the Emperor Hoomayoon, to Sharekhan, his successful competitor for the empire. It afterwards fell into the hands of a Jat chief, the Rana of Gond, from whom it was taken by the Mahrattas. While in their possession, it was invested by our troops under the command of Major Popham; and on the 3rd of August, 1780, taken by escalade. The party that scaled the wall was gallantly led by a very distinguished and most promising officer, Captain Bruce, brother of the celebrated traveller. It was made over by us to the Rana of Gond, who had been our ally in the war. Failing in his engagement to us, he was afterwards abandoned to the resentment of Madhajee Sindheea, chief of the Mahrattas. In 1783, Gwalior was invested by Madhajee Sindheea's troops, under the command of one of the most extraordinary men that have ever figured in Indian history—the justly celebrated General Duboine. After many unsuccessful attempts to take it by escalade, he bought over part of the garrison, and made himself master of the place. Gond itself was taken soon after, in 1784; but the Rana, Chuturput, made his escape. He was closely pursued, made prisoner at Kuroube, and confined in the fortress of Gwalior,

where he died in the year 1785. He left no son; and his claims upon Gond devolved upon his nephew, Keerut Sing, who, at the close of our war with the Mahrattas, got from Lord Lake, in lieu of these claims, the estate of Dholepore, situated on the left banks of the river Chumbul, which is estimated at the annual value of three hundred thousand, or three lacks of rupees. He died this year, 1835, and has been succeeded by his son, Bhugwunt Sing, a lad of seventeen years of age.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CONTEST FOR EMPIRE BETWEEN THE SONS OF SHAH JEHAN.*

UNDER the Emperors of Delhi, the fortress of Gwalior was always considered as an imperial state prison, in which they confined those rivals and competitors for dominion whom they did not like to put to a violent death. They kept a large menagerie, and other things, for their amusement. Among the best of the princes, who ended their days in this great prison, was Sooleeman Shakoh, the eldest son of the unhappy Dara. A narrative of the contest for empire between the four sons of Shah Jehan, may, perhaps, prove both interesting and instructive; and as I shall have occasion often, in the course of my rambles, to refer to the characters who figured in it, I shall venture to give it a place.

* The following twelve chapters contain an historical piece, to the personages and events of which the author will have frequent occasion to refer; and it is introduced in this place from its connexion with Gwalior—the state prison in which some of its actors ended their days.

Shah Jehan, who built at Agra the celebrated mausoleum, now called after the wife over whose remains it was erected, the "Taj Beebee ka Ronza," or the Tomb of the Crowned Princess, had four sons and three daughters. The eldest son was Dara Shakoh. He is considered to have been one of the handsomest men in the empire. His figure was majestic, his countenance noble, his manners dignified, his disposition kind and benevolent, and his spirit full of generous impulses, but not sufficiently under control; and his deportment towards the Mahomedan nobility was often too haughty and imperious. Many of those, whose good opinions and feelings it was most his interest to conciliate, were alienated from him by harsh expressions, which, though always unpremeditated, and often deeply regretted, left a strong feeling of resentment upon their minds; and also of apprehension, that the man who so used them while merely looking forward to the throne, would be likely to add injuries to insults when firmly seated upon it. He had studied carefully the religious systems of both the eastern and western world, and was supposed to have become at last a convert to Christianity. Certain it is, that he cultivated the society of the European gentlemen about his court more than of others, and by that means he gave great umbrage to the Mahomedans. The Jesuits who resided at his court were persuaded of his conversion, and felt assured that, if he came to the throne, their religion would soon spread

throughout the east. But Dara resembled his great-grandfather, the Emperor Akbar, in that spirit of universal benevolence which made him tolerant of all religions. He really believed what Akbar always seemed to believe, that every nation had *its book* given to them from above for their special guidance; and that if these books were studied in a proper spirit, they would all be found tending to the same great end—the promotion of justice, charity, and benevolence among men, and the worship of one God, the creator and preserver of the universe. He found the European gentlemen at his father's court better informed than any others with whom he could at that time associate on intimate terms; and he gave them more of his time and attentions. The Jesuits were the persons whom he seemed most to esteem among the Europeans; and among the Jesuits, those most in his confidence were the fathers Stanislaus Malpica, a Neapolitan, Pedro Juzarti, a Portuguese, and Henry Busie, a Fleming. All the artillery, not only in the imperial, but in every other army throughout India, was at that time served and conducted almost entirely by Europeans or Christians. They had churches and church establishments in all parts of the empire; and had Dara succeeded to the throne, our religion would, no doubt, have had everywhere great encouragement.

Jehanara Begum, the eldest of three daughters, was older than Dara. She was a person of great beauty, wit, and accomplishments; and so much after

her brother Dara's own heart in all things, that she supported his interest with all her unbounded influence over her father, as long as he reigned. Sultan Shoojah was neither so handsome, so liberal, so high-minded, nor so well-informed as Dara; but he was equal in courage, enterprise, and natural abilities, and never subject to those fits of passion by which his brother had alienated from him many of those who could best have served him in time of need. He had, too, less scruple than Dara in employing the means necessary to win men over to his interest in such a struggle as was about to take place between them for dominion. He had changed his sect from that of Soonnee, or the Turks, to that of Sheea, or the Persians, with a view to conciliate the Persian noblemen, who then filled almost every great office in the empire, civil and military; and he was in correspondence with the king of Persia. The adventurers from Persia in those days had almost as great a monopoly of offices as the Europeans in the present, because they were really the only Mahomedans of education in India, and of that address which fitted them for courts and court favour.

Ourungzebe, well known to my countrymen as the father of "Lalla Rookh," was the third son. He was of middle stature and slender figure, long features, particularly the nose; but with an expression of countenance peculiarly mild and pleasing, though always sedate. His complexion was pale, his eyes were a good deal sunk; and as his conversation ge-

nerally turned on the subject of the religion and laws of his prophet, it was commonly believed that his thoughts dwelt more on his interests in the next world than in this. A more perfect master of the art of dissimulation than Ourungzebe perhaps never existed. He generally appeared thoughtful; and nothing was ever seen to disturb the calm serenity of his temper. He always carried the Koran under his arm, and was observed regularly at the prescribed five times in the day at his prayers, which he repeated with a loud and singularly melodious voice. He was a rigid religionist, according to the sect of the Soonnees, and never appeared in public except in a clean white dress, unadorned by any of those jewels and expensive ornaments, worn by the other members of the imperial family. He had inscribed his name among the Fuquers, or religious mendicants, lived altogether like one, upon rice, roots, and water; and never indulged in wine, or any other luxury whatever of the table. From his tenderest years he seems to have been strongly impressed with the conviction, that on the death of his father, his life must depend upon his ability to conquer and destroy all his brothers, or to persuade them that he sought nothing but a peaceful, religious retirement near the tomb of his prophet. His youngest brother became his dupe, but his eldest brother, Dara, knew him well, and used always to say, "Of all my brothers, I fear only that man of prayers," (Nimazee,) and Shoojah was

just as well aware of the true nature of his character.

Roshunara Begum was the second daughter, and fifth child of Shah Jehan. She had less of natural ability, of beauty, wit, and accomplishments than her eldest sister, Jehanara; but she had infinitely more of artifice and cunning. In mind and disposition she resembled Ourungzebe as much as Jehanara resembled Dara; and in the same manner she devoted herself entirely to the interests of the brother she so much resembled. She became his spy; and kept him always fully informed of everything that occurred at court which could be useful for him to know.

Moorad Buksh was the *fourth and youngest* son, a brave headstrong man, who devoted all his time to the sports of the field, to military exercises, and the pleasures of the table. He prided himself upon his strength, courage, and frankness; and seemed to think these were the only qualities worthy of being cultivated by a prince who aspired to an empire. He had a good deal of generosity, and was very honest in his profession of the Mahomedan faith, though much addicted to wine.

Miher Omissa Begum was the youngest child; she had little to attract or interest in her mind or person. Her dress, her ornaments, and the trifling amusements of the seraglio, engaged all her attention; and she never was known to take the least

interest in any of the different factions that distracted the rest of the court and empire.

Dara was made Viceroy of Cabul and Lahore, with permission to reside at the capital of Delhi, and assist his father in the conduct of affairs, as the declared heir apparent to the throne. Shoojah was made Viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Ourungzebe, of all the Deccan or imperial dominions south of the Nerbudda river; and Moorad Buksh, of the provinces of Gozerat and Malwa. The Emperor Shah Jehan was, at the time of these appointments, (1651,) at Cabul with his court; Moorad set out for his government of Gozerat alone. Shoojah and Ourungzebe took leave of their father on the same day, and proceeded together to Delhi, where they remained together six days. Ourungzebe passed three days with his family in his brother Shoojah's tents; and on that occasion Shoojah's eldest son was betrothed to Ourungzebe's eldest daughter, and his eldest daughter to Ourungzebe's eldest son. Up to this time they had been fond of each other; and they now swear upon the holy Koran to remain the same through life.

In the year A. D. 1658, Shah Jehan became suddenly and dangerously ill—for some time he was supposed to be dead; and the four sons all prepared for that contest which was to give them a throne or a grave. Ourungzebe easily managed to persuade Moorad, whose viceroyalty adjoined his own, and

who had married a younger sister of his wife,* that he had no wish but to put him on the throne with the view to revenge the death of their poor old father, who had evidently been poisoned by Dara, and to preserve the law and true religion of their great prophet, now endangered as well from Dara, who had become an unbeliever, as from Shoojah, who had become a heretic. "As soon as they had, by their united efforts," he said, "effected these two great objects, he should, with his permission, retire and spend the rest of his days near the tomb of their prophet, and in the meantime consider him, Moorad, as the real Emperor of Hindoostan, and obey him accordingly." He sent him a few hundred thousand rupees for immediate use, and recommended him to replenish his treasury by taking the great commercial city of Surat. This headstrong young man fell into the snare—marched to the attack of Surat, and took the city after a siege of a month, by means of a mine under the wall, which his troops were taught to make and spring by the Hollanders, who worked his artillery. He found less treasure than he expected;† but the reputation of having taken a place of such

* The Sultan Shoojah, the fourth competitor for the throne, had married a third sister. All three were the daughters of Shahnewag Khan, of Gozerat.

† Over and above the public treasure, which fell into his hands in the fortress, he got from the merchants of the city, whom he put into rigorous confinement, a ransom of five hundred thousand rupees.

note, by means of blowing the walls into the air, and the supposition that the treasure found had been enormous, were of great advantage to his enterprise. His wise brother, Ourungzebe, had calculated upon the moral effect of this, and cared little about the money.

From Surat he marched his army to Mandoo, the ancient capital of Malwa, near the river Nerbudda, where his brother, Ourungzebe, was to cross it on his way up from Doulatabad. Here the brothers met, and the two armies joined. Ourungzebe had lately taken leave of the most extraordinary person of that age in India, Mahomed Mouzzim Ameer Jumla, whose advice had been to him, and still continued to be, of more importance than the services of a third army, though he had left him a prisoner in the Deccan. Ameer Jumla was a native of Persia: his person was handsome, his manners graceful, and his mind, naturally of uncommon powers, had been well stored by early studies with all the knowledge that a Persian education could impart. In the language of Bernier, "he was a man of almost *unimaginable capacity.*" He came to southern India in the quality of an attendant upon a Persian merchant, and entered the service of the king of Golconda. Here he soon became Viceroy over the richest province of the kingdom, commander-in-chief of the armies, and sole *paramour* to the mother of the king, who had been, and was still, a beautiful woman. Possessed of the mines of Golconda, which lay within his vice-

royalty, he soon became possessed of immense wealth; and, discovering a design on the part of the king to seize this wealth, and to banish him for the intrigue with the queen mother, he instigated Ourungzebe to the conquest of Golconda, as the surest road to the throne of his father. Dara became alarmed, and Golconda was saved at the interposition of the Emperor, when the king had been reduced to the last extremity in the citadel, and his kingdom was on the point of falling into the hands of Ourungzebe. The eldest daughter of the king was united to the eldest son of Ourungzebe, Sultan Mahomed, in spite of his plighted faith to the daughter of Shoojah, with a pledge that he should succeed to the crown of Golconda on the death of the king his father-in-law. The king was obliged to consent to allow Ameer Jumla to depart with Ourungzebe, and to take with him all his family, private property and troops; and, above all, his artillery, which had been brought to greater perfection, under the superintendence of Europeans, than any other artillery in India ever had been.

As a commencement, Ourungzebe, through the intrigues of his sister Roshunara, (or Rozanara,) prevailed upon the Emperor to invite Ameer Jumla to his court at Delhi, whither he repaired with his family, the better to deceive Dara and Jehanara. He took with him many valuable presents, which he presented to Shah Jehan; and among them was the great diamond, known since by the name of Kali-

noor, or the mountain of light, which he had got *from one of the Golconda mines.* He was soon after appointed to the office of prime minister, vacant by the death of Sodulla Khan; and he persuaded Shah Jehan that there were many such diamonds as this to be found in the principalities of the Deccan, and that he had only to entrust him with the command of an army for their conquest, to become master of sources of unbounded wealth. The Emperor was become exceedingly avaricious, and he immediately ordered an efficient army to be placed at his disposal; but Dara and Jehanara saw that such an army, under such a leader, added to the forces already under the command, and devoted to the interests of Ourungzebe, would be sufficient to give him the empire whenever he might wish to seize upon it; and they urged their father not to be caught in the snare that had been so manifestly laid for him. He was at that time angry, however, with Dara for having, as he believed, caused to be poisoned his minister, Sadoollakhan, one of the best and ablest men in the empire, to whom he had been fondly attached; and his cupidity had been inflamed by the pictures which the Ameer drew of the treasures of the yet unconquered kingdoms of the south of India. Unable to prevent the Emperor from sending this army, or entrusting the Ameer with the command of it, they persuaded him to make his command entirely independent of Ourungzebe, to confine this prince merely to the civil government of the states already conquered,

and to insist upon the Ameer leaving his wife and children at court as hostages for his fidelity. The Ameer hesitated to accept the command upon this last condition; but at length the Emperor prevailed upon him to yield the point, to calm the anxieties of his eldest son and daughter, under a promise that he would undertake very soon to send his wife and children after him. His eldest son, Mahmood Ameer, was appointed to his office of prime minister during his father's absence. The king of Beejapore having had the misfortune to displease Ourungzebe, or excite his cupidity, he obtained the Emperor's permission to invade the kingdom. He had taken Kaleeanee, and reduced Beejapore itself to extremities, when he heard of his father's illness. He now accepted the one million of money that had been offered, raised the siege, and retired to Ourungabad.* Ameer Jumla was engaged in the siege of Kulburga, and Ourungzebe sent his eldest son, Mahmood, to entreat the Ameer to join him. Dreading that his wife and children would be all put to death by Dara, if he did so, he declined. The second son, Mouzim, was sent, and he came.† It was planned that he

* Adil Shah, the then king of Beejapore, had before sent a present to the imperial court at Delhi, *consisting of forty* lacs of rupees and forty elephants, with gold and silver housings, for Shah Jehan; fifteen lacs of rupees, fifteen elephants, and jewels, for Dara Shakoh; and five lacs of rupees and five elephants for his sister Jehanara.

† Mouzim, the second son of Ourungzebe, was then only

should be there seized, put in silver *fetters*,* and kept a close prisoner in the fort of Doulatabad. This was done to make it appear that he had been forced, and thereby save his wife and children from the resentment of Dara. "We must," said Ourungzebe, "kill the snake, without breaking the stick that we do it with." All his army, knowing or suspecting the motive, were easily persuaded to join that of Ourungzebe, whose ambition and capacity were well known to them. They calculated not only upon placing him upon the throne; but upon following him after they had done so, to the conquest of Persia, China, and a variety of other places that enter into the dreams of a successful army so circumstanced and commanded.

Ourungzebe, who now always addressed Moorad with the title of *your imperial majesty*, got off his elephant and walked some distance to meet him, at their first interview, in front of the whole army, and played the saint so admirably, that in spite of the

seventeen years of age. He had all the address of his father, without any of his bad qualities, while Mahmood had all the impetuosity of Dara, without any of his good qualities. In the struggle for the throne, made by the four sons of Ourungzebe on his death, Mouzim carried off the victory. Mahmood had long before died.

* When Richard Cœur de Lion of England took the king of Cyprus prisoner, he put him in silver fetters, which flattered the old man's vanity very much. He had behaved extremely ill to the shipwrecked family of Richard, on their way to the holy wars—his wife and sister, the widowed queen of Sicily.

constant warning of his affectionate and faithful follower, Shahabas, Moorad resigned himself into his hands, with entire confidence in the sincerity of his professions and devotion. He wished nothing but to revenge the death of his good old father, and to relieve the religion of their holy prophet and the empire of Hindoostan, from the immediate danger with which they were threatened by the *unbelieving Dara*, and the *heretic Shoojah*. He knew perfectly well ere this, from his sister, and other friends at court, that his father had been long out of all danger, and almost restored to health; but he took care that Moorad should get no letters from Delhi or Agra. Khuleeloolah, and other secret friends of his about Dara, persuaded that prince to get Ourungzebe's able agent at court, Eesa Beg, dismissed by the Emperor on the pretence that he was conveying intelligence to his master; and by this means they contrived to convey to him all the information he most wanted, without the risk of having it intercepted. There was at this time hardly a man of any influence or note in the empire, with whom Ourungzebe was not in correspondence; and thirty thousand of the finest troops which Dara was preparing to send against him, were devoted to his interest. Such were his industry, sagacity, and vigilance, that he seemed to those about him to control all events, from being so much more able to foresee, or becoming so much sooner acquainted with them, than any other person. But the qualities that stood him in most

stead, were the quick and almost intuitive perception he had of the capacities, characters, and dispositions of men; and the ability to inspire all those who were able to serve him, with the desire to do so. He never left a service unrecompensed; and every man who had proved himself worthy of his confidence, felt that he possessed it. Justice was never more vigilantly or more rigorously administered than in the countries committed to his charge; and he always considered a reputation for strictness in that respect as no less necessary to his cause than one for undeviating piety; the more especially as the jurisprudence and the religion of the Mahomedans are alike derived from the sacred code.

An army was first sent by Dara against Shoojah, who was advancing upon the capital from Bengal. Shoojah's viceroyalty was by far the richest. His cavalry alone amounted to forty thousand men; and he carried money enough in gold upon camels for the payment of his troops during the campaign. On mounting his horse to make his first march upon the capital, Shoojah exclaimed, "*Death or the throne;*" and this was always his motto. He caused it to be proclaimed as he advanced, that the Emperor had died of poison administered by his perfidious and unbelieving brother, Dara; and that he was hastening to revenge the murder of the *best of fathers.* The command of the army employed against Shoojah was given to Sooleeman Shakoh, the eldest son of Dara, then in his twenty-fifth year. He was as hand-

some as his father; and had all his father's good without any of his bad qualities. He was frank, generous, and affable; and beloved by all who approached him. Anxious to prevent a battle between his son and grandson if possible, the Emperor appointed, as Sooleeman's lieutenant, the Rajah Jysing, of Jeypore, who commanded the Rajpoot troops, and was esteemed one of the ablest men in the empire, and Dulele Khan, who commanded the Afghans. He ordered them to do all in their power to persuade Shoojah to retire into Bengal, without committing himself in an action with the troops of his father, who, they were to assure him, was now quite well, and as capable as ever of conducting the affairs of the government, and punishing his rebellion, should he persist in it. The armies met near the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, at Allahabad. The two lieutenants found it impossible to restrain the fire and impetuosity of the young Sooleeman, who burned with the desire to distinguish himself in the service of his insulted grandfather; and Shoojah could not be persuaded to avoid the action, as he knew that a great struggle was about to take place between Dara and the other two brothers; and a victory over the young Sooleeman might, probably, enable him to seize the capital and Emperor before the successful party could be prepared to march and intercept him. The action commenced with some discharge of artillery on both sides, and concluded with the retreat of Shoojah.

His army would have been entirely destroyed had the two lieutenants supported the young prince vigorously in the pursuit; but they knew that the Emperor was unwilling that he should either be taken prisoner or entirely ruined. Sooleeman was arrested in his pursuit of his uncle at Mooghere by news from court, that his two other uncles were advancing rapidly from the Nerbudda towards Agra, where his father required the aid of his victorious troops. He had taken nearly all his uncle's artillery, with forty elephants, and a great number of prisoners; and having sent the whole off to his grandfather, he marched as fast as he could to support his father; but his two lieutenants did everything they could to retard his movements; Jysing, because Dara had, in one of his fits of passion, called him a *music* master;*

* In the trial of one of the Roman consuls elect, L. Muræna, for his scandalous mode of life, and for bribery and corruption, his accuser Cato, as the most monstrous of his manifold wickednesses, charged him with *dancing*. Cicero, who had undertaken his defence, replied to this charge thus: "I admonish you, Cato, not to throw out such a calumny so inconsiderately, or to call the consul of Rome a dancer; but to consider how many other crimes a man must needs be guilty of before that of dancing can be objected to him; since nobody ever danced even in solitude, or in a private meeting of friends, who was not either drunk or mad; for dancing is the last act of rioting, banqueting, gay places, and much jollity. You charge him, therefore, with what was the effect of many vices, yet with none of these without which that vice could not possibly subsist—with no scandalous feasts, no amours, no nightly revels, no lewdness, no extravagant expenses, &c." The Hindoo prince was just as much exaspe-

and Dulele Khan, because he thought it to be his interest to support in all things the views of his friend the Rajah Jysing.

rated at being charged with having taken a part in a *concert*, as the Roman consul was at being accused of taking one in a *quadrille*. I really believe that any native gentlemen in India, Mussulman or Hindoo, would rather be accused of murder than of *dancing*. In the same speech Cicero implores Cato not to use his influence to deprive the people of their much-loved amusements of gladiatorial exhibitions, for though dancing was no doubt very atrocious, there could be no harm in putting three or four hundred couple of these people to murder each other on the stage for their amusement! Telemachus had not then raised his christian voice, nor were there Walter Scotts or Maria Edgeworths among them to disseminate that philosophy which teaches by emotions.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OURUNGZEBE AND MOORAD DEFEAT THEIR FATHER'S ARMY NEAR OJEYN.

SHAH JEHAN, unable to persuade Ourungzebe and Moorad to retire by orders written with his own hand, sent a force to arrest their progress, under the command of Kasim Khan, who revered the Emperor, but disliked Dara; and Jeswunt Sing, the Rajah of Joudpore, who had married the daughter of Chuttersaul, the Rajah of Hurrouthee or Kotah Kasim Khan, was appointed viceroy in Gozerat, in succession to Moorad, who was transferred to the viceroyalty of Berar. Jeswunt Sing was appointed viceroy of Malwa, with orders to see that Moorad obeyed and made place for Kasim. The Emperor commanded them, when they took leave, to prevail upon his sons, if possible, to return voluntarily to their governments before it should be too late. As they advanced, they sent messengers with letters to both Ourungzebe and Moorad, communicating the commands of their father; but Ourungzebe found little

difficulty in persuading his brother, that these two chiefs were entirely in the interest of Dara, and not to be at all relied upon. It had been the intention of Jeswunt Sing to dispute the passage of the Nerbudda with Ourungzebe, and prevent the junction of the two brothers; but Ourungzebe, after giving his troops two days' repose, crossed the Nerbudda on the 6th April, 1658; and on the 15th of that month the two armies joined. Jeswunt Sing advanced to the bank of the little river Gumbeer, ten miles south of Ojeyn, and about midway between that place and Debalpore, where the brothers had met. Jeswunt Sing called in all his detachments from Dhar and other places, and made the best arrangements he could for the action. Ourungzebe tried to corrupt him, but in vain; although he is thought to have succeeded better with his colleague, Kasim Khan, who is supposed to have been won over. Jeswunt Sing felt that he depended upon the courage of his brave little band of eight thousand Rajpoot cavalry.* Mahomed Sultan crossed over at the head of his party, and the division of Kasim Khan, composed entirely of Mahomedans, gave way before his charge. Jeswunt Sing was left alone amidst his faithful Rajpoots, who fought desperately, in the hopes that Kasim Khan would rally his men, and return to the field. All

* Mahomedan historians relate, that when a son of a Rajpoot fell in this battle, the father was seen to dip his finger in his blood, stain his own forehead with it, and then rush furiously upon the enemy to revenge his death.

their efforts were vain; and Jeswunt Sing, ashamed to show his face to the empire, retreated towards his own capital with less than one-fourth of his force, the rest having been all left dead or disabled on the field of battle, which took place on the 17th of April, 1658. Ourungzebe built a fine mosque, and a caravanserae on the ground, to commemorate this action; and rested a few days to refesh his soldiers.* Jeswunt Sing, when he reached the gates of his own capital, found them shut against him. His wife declared that he could not be her husband. "It is impossible that Jeswunt Sing, if defeated, as he is reported to have been at Ojeyn, can be still alive; he must have died by the hands of the enemy in the midst of his brave followers, or by his own hands; and in either case my duty is clear. I can follow him to the next world upon the funeral pile, but I can never meet him again in this." The funeral pile was prepared, but she could find no relict of her husband to burn herself with—for nine days she was inexorable. "A daughter of Chuttersaul," said she, "cannot be the wife of a craven!" At last her mother persuaded her that her husband had been betrayed by the traitor Kasim Khan; that he had fled not from Ourungzebe, but merely retired to raise new levies to fight him with, and to retrace for the Emperor the advantages he had lost; and that the honour and

* In a letter to the king of Beejapore, announcing this victory, Ourungzebe says that six thousand of the enemy had been killed.

interests of their family and the state depended upon the support he might now be able to give to the Emperor and his eldest son, betrayed, as they appeared to be, by all the Mahomed chiefs of the army.* She thereupon consented to see him; and he was soon again in a condition to take the field.

As soon as Shah Jehan heard of this defeat, he raised his eyes to heaven and exclaimed, "O Lord, thy will be done; it is for my sins that I am afflicted, and much heavier punishments have they merited." Dara broke out into the most ungovernable fits of passion; and demanded vengeance upon the family of Ameer Jumla. He wished to have the heads of his wife and son struck off; and his daughters sent to the bazaar, and sold to prostitutes, as he was, he said, the great author of all these calamities, since he furnished his rebellious brothers with the men, money, and cannon, that were the sole sinews of their strength. Shah Jehan would not suffer them to be molested, saying, "That the Ameer must have been betrayed and seized by violence, as he had too

* Mahomedan historians relate instances of the training of the female members of his family. On one occason he remarked that some jessamine flowers which his wife held in her hand had less odour than usual. She sharply replied, "That the odour was the same, but his sense of smell had been impaired ever since he put *his foot upon his nose*"—that is, ran away. His cook one day excused himself for delaying to bring dinner, by saying, "That he had been obliged to cook it in iron utensils instead of brass." "Impudent knave," said his sister, "how dare you mention iron before his highness. *Do you not know how much he abhors it?*"

much good sense voluntarily to expose the members of his family to so much danger; and he was himself probably suffering from his misplaced confidence in the honour of Ourungzebe, and now languishing in a dungeon with fetters upon his legs like a common felon!" The Emperor now proposed to take the field, and command the army in person, though still very weak from sickness; but Dara was afraid that he should sink into insignificance if his father commanded, for he was idolized by the people; and he used all his efforts to dissuade him. In these efforts he was joined by the princess Roshunara, Khuleeloolah Khan, and other friends of Ourungzebe, who feared that Moorad would retire with his army the moment he found his father was really moving in person against him, and that all the old chiefs of the empire, who had already been brought over by Ourungzebe, or were wavering in their fidelity, would at once rally round him. Yielding to their earnest, and apparently honest solicitude, the Emperor intreated Dara at least to wait for his son Sooleeman, who was on his way back from Mooghere with an army of tried courage and fidelity; but Dara was too confident of success, or unwilling that his son, already covered with laurels as he was by the defeat of Shoojah, should share in the renown of conquering the two other brothers.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

DARA MARCHES IN PERSON AGAINST HIS BROTHERS, AND IS DEFEATED.

He left Agra at the head of an army consisting of one hundred thousand horse, fifty thousand foot, and about a thousand pieces of artillery. Almost all the large guns were served by Europeans. There were sixty small pieces of artillery mounted on the backs of sixty elephants; and innumerable camels with similar but smaller pieces. The private camp equipage of Dara, who had the folly to take all his family with him, was carried upon the backs of five hundred camels. He proceeded in five days to the banks of the Chumbul, where they were to dispute the passage of that river with the rebels; and here he fortified a strong position on its north bank about twenty-five miles from Agra, on the 25th of May, 1658. Ourungzebe came up a few days after with an army almost worn down with the fatigues of such long marches in the hottest season of the year; and deeming it

too dangerous to attempt the passage of this large river in the face of an enemy fresh from the capital, and more than three times the amount of his own, he purchased by large bribes from a Hindoo prince, Chumpul, whose territories lay along the bank of this river, permission to march through these territories during the night unmolested, and cross the river at a good ford about fifteen miles to the east of Dara's camp. Eight thousand men were sent on to take possession of the ford; and when the two brothers received intelligence that this had been effected, they broke up their camp soon after dark, and moved with so much secrecy and celerity, that they had nearly crossed the river before Dara was aware that they had left their ground. He sent on a division of the army under Khuleeloolah Khan, to check the passage of the enemy till he could bring up the main body; but this chief had been corrupted by Ourungzebe, and did all he could to facilitate his passage. As soon as the main body of daring and devoted Rajpoots came up, Ram Sing urged Dara to attack the enemy before they could entrench themselves; but his advice was overruled by Khuleeloolah the traitor, who urged the danger of an immediate attack, and the advantage of waiting. The enemy were allowed to advance to Samsugur on the bank of the Jumna, within ten miles of Agra; and there to entrench themselves.* Dara placed himself between them

* Samsugur was from that time named Futtehabad or the town of victory, the 7th June, 1658.

and the capital; and the armies remained within sight of each other four days without an action. The Emperor wrote to urge Dara still to wait the arrival of the army under his son, and sent him a present of the imperial sabre, but was told in reply, that before this army could join him his majesty might expect his two rebellious sons in chains at his feet!

Dara drew up his army in order of battle on the 1st of June. He had ascertained from a Byragee, a Hindoo mendicant, called Purangeer, the lucky hour to begin the battle! Khuleeloolah had command of the right wing, consisting of thirty thousand Mogul troops, having been raised to the rank of a captain-general of the cavalry in the place of Danishmund Khan, who had recently resigned that post in disgust at the treatment he received from Dara.* The left wing was commanded by Rostum Khan, and the Rajah's Ramsing† and Chuttersaul of Hurrouthee. The centre by Dara himself. Moorad commanded the right wing of the rebel army, Ourungzebe the centre, and Mahomed, his son, the left wing. The right wing did nothing under the traitor Khuleeloolah, who assumed authority over the officers of artillery, and by his manœuvres rendered

* The French physician Birmer was in the service of this Danishmund Khan.

† Ramsing is commonly called the Roteelee; and he is supposed to have been a son or nephew of the Hurrouthee or Kotah chief, Chuttersaul, the father of Jeswunt Sing's wife.

their fire entirely useless. The centre division under Dara fought bravely, and carried everything before them; while Ram Sing, with his devoted body of Rajpoots in the left wing, cut his way through the right wing of the enemy, up to the high elephant on which its leader, Moorad, was seated with his son.* Moorad received three arrows in his face; and his elephant-driver being killed, he was obliged to guide it himself with one hand, while he defended himself and his son with the other. Unable to reach him from his horse, Ram Sing leaped from his saddle, and attempted with his sword to cut the ropes which supported the castle in which he sat, and throw him to the ground. Moorad stabbed him with a javelin from above; and the enraged animal dashed him to pieces against the ground. Rostum Khan had before been killed by a cannon shot, while the youngest son of Dara, Sipeher Shekoh, sat by his side;† but Chuttersaul, with his five thousand horse, was still a rallying point for the Raj-

* On the death of Rostum Khan, this youth was taken to his father Dara, with whom he remained during the rest of the action. These princes took their sons with them in action to show that they were confident of victory; and thereby to inspire their soldiers with courage. This Rostum Khan built the city of Moradabad, in Rohilcund, while he was governor of the province, and called it after Moorad, the youngest son of his master, the Emperor Shah Jehan, to whom he was now opposed.

† This was Eezud Buksh, the son of Dara, whom Ourungzebe took out from the fort of Gwalior and married to his daughter, Mihoronnissa, in the 15th year of his reign.

poot soldiers, who seemed to bear down all before them.

The battle seemed now lost to Ourungzebe, who was obliged to give way before Dara, though supported gallantly by his son, Mahomed Sultan, but at this moment the traitor Khuleeloolah, as a last desperate effort, to which he was animated by his knowledge of the impetuous character of the prince, rode up to Dara, told him that the enemy had given way throughout the line, and implored him to make the most of the victory which God had given him, descend from his elephant, which moved so slowly, mount his horse, and seize Ourungzebe, who would otherwise make good his retreat, and get back to his government in the Deccan! This unfortunate prince, who in times of peace could never tolerate the advice of any man, again lost his only chance of victory by resigning himself blindly to the preposterous councils of a traitor! His majestic presence upon his elephant, waving on his men in the front of the battle, had animated them to fits of irresistible enthusiasm. The moment that his troops saw his place upon this elephant vacant, the cry ran through the ranks like an electric shock, that Dara was killed, and from that moment they ceased to fight, for they had no longer anything to fight for. Dara rushed upon the enemy on horseback, but soon saw his error. The traitor had left his side for that of Ourungzebe; and carried over with him his best Mogul troops. Dara tried to rally his forces, but in

vain; the panic and flight had become general, the defeat irretrievable. The action had lasted from seven in the morning till five in the afternoon. Ourungzebe sat on his elephant with his quarran in his arms, animating his soldiers by his presence in the scenes of greatest danger; and always repeating, "God guides you, my brave soldiers, God guides you;" and all orthodox Mahomedans of the *soonnee* sect to this day believe, that God did really guide them, and confound Dara and his army; for they conceive that their religion was never in greater peril than on that day, when Ourungzebe, a devoted Mahomedan of their sect, was opposed to his brother, an unbeliever. This battle was fought on the eighth of the month of Ramzan, during all which month Mussulmans fast from the dawn of day till sunset; and when, as on this occasion, Ramzan occurs in the hottest season of the year, and in the longest days, they all become very weak and spiritless.

Ourungzebe took possession of the tents and baggage of the imperial army; and placing Moorad in the tent of Dara, retired to a small hut, where he remained a long time in prayer, offering up thanks to God for this great victory! From this hut he emerged like a man inspired, and with the quarran pressed in his bosom, and the prayers still flowing from his lips, he entered the apartment of Moorad, and presented to him the traitor Khuleeloolah. "It is," said he, "to Heaven, to your majesty, and to this,

the most able and faithful of your friends, and we are indebted for this victory. I have done my first duty in rendering thanks to the great eternal God, who to-day interposed his arm for the protection of the law of his prophet! My second is to prostrate myself before my earthly master, and to offer him my congratulation. By your unexampled behaviour you have, with troops worn down by fatigue, and exhausted by privations, defeated and dispersed the most splendid army that ever took the field in India! I have now only to solicit your favour for our friend, who has aided in this fortunate commencement of your reign; and who will always be found worthy to fill a post of honour in that empire of which you are now become the master. As for me, my destiny is about to be accomplished. As soon as a third victory shall have placed you upon the throne you so much merit, I shall go and reign over my passions in solitude, whilst you maintain the religion of the one God over all the regions of Hindoostan."

By placing near his brother this traitor, who was devoted to his interests, he was sure to be made acquainted with all that was said or done in his camp; and while he treated his brother as his master, he was in communication with his sister Roshunara, and several other influential persons about his father, and with almost every viceroy and officer of any note in the empire, who all looked up to him as the master spirit that must ultimately have to decide

upon their destinies. All his nights were spent in these communications; and while to the careless he appeared to think of nothing but a future state, the more observing saw, that his was the only mind in the army that knew no rest from worldly cares. He wrote to the two lieutenants under Sooleeman, Jysing and Dulele Khan, to tell them of the defeat of Dara; and to command them to put their prince to death, or to bring him in chains to the feet of the conqueror Moorad Buksh. Though he always pretended to be acting for his youngest brother, Moorad, he wished the people to know, that the power and the wisdom on which the struggle of this great contest was to depend, were his—that if his brother should really be suffered to reap the fruit, it would be by his forbearance; and that if he should choose to grasp the helm himself, they might all be found willing to submit to the guidance of a pilot whose skill had been tried in such a tempest. Shaesta Khan, the brother of the mother of all the children of Shah Jehan, (who now lies buried by her husband's side in the most splendid of all the tombs of the earth, the Moosalman at Agra, and had died long before the struggle for empire began,) was considered as the most accomplished writer at that time in Hindoostan; and he, like, Khuleeloolah, had been exasperated against Dara by some supposed indignity, or by a deportment which showed too plainly that Dara's accession to the throne must tend greatly to diminish his power and in-

fluence. He now employed the power for which he had been so much distinguished, to gratify his revenge, by forming parties to support the cause of Ourungzebe in every quarter of the empire.

CHAPTER XL.

DARA RETREATS TOWARDS LAHORE—IS ROBBED BY THE JATS—THEIR CHARACTER.

As soon as Jysing and Dulele Khan received Ourungzebe's letters, it was determined that they should be shown to the young prince, that he might be induced to fly from the army, and thus save them from the dilemma of either supporting the weaker side, or seizing and delivering the most amiable and most popular member of all the imperial family into the hands of the victor, who would probably some day himself, out of policy, punish them for having presumed to lay violent hands upon his person. Besides, the prince was a favourite among the soldiers; and they would not allow him to be taken without much bloodshed. Under these considerations Jysing, to whom Dulele Khan was entirely subservient from views of interest, took the letters open in his hand to that prince, who had himself just heard of his father's defeat and flight; and urged him to leave the army forthwith and seek an asylum with Prithee

Sing, the Rajah of Seereenuggur in the Himmalah mountains, who would receive him hospitably, and in his fastnesses be able to defend him against all the armies in the world. Sooleeman soon saw, that in all the army he had so successfully commanded against his uncle, now that his father had been defeated and driven from the capital, he could calculate upon the fidelity of only a few personal friends; and with these he set out under a solemn pledge from the two lieutenants, that they would protect him in his flight, and secure the safety of all the property he took with him. He had an elephant loaded entirely with gold coins; and this, with the greater part of all the other valuable property, was soon taken from him by detachments sent secretly after him for the purpose by these two traitors. By these parties and the militia of the great landholders along the road, who always seized with avidity the opportunity of plundering flying armies, or detachments of whatever party, he lost almost all his baggage; while many of his remaining followers were killed in the attempt to defend it; and still more discouraged from following him to the end of his journey. He reached at length the capital of the Rajah, lying on the banks of the Aluknunda river, thirty miles above its junction with the Ganges; and only six stages from Hurdwar, where the united streams emerge into the great plains of India. He had his wife and child with him. The Rajah received him with all honour, and cordial hospitality; and assured him that he

would be there as safe, and he hoped as happy, as if he was himself sovereign of the country.

Dara, after his defeat, was ashamed to see his father, but he had an interview with his sister, Jehanara, as he passed through Agra in his retreat towards Delhi. His father tried, through her and other confidential messengers, to inspire him with hopes; and sent him one hundred camel loads of gold and silver coin, to assist him in raising new levies. *He took with him his wife, who was the daughter of* his uncle Purmez, his daughters, and his youngest son, Sipeher Shekoh, and about four hundred persons, all that still remained faithful to him in his misfortunes; but he expected to be joined at Delhi by the army of his son Sooleeman, on whose fidelity he thought he could still rely, but by which that son had been already actually deserted, plundered, and driven a fugitive to the mountains. On his way from Agra to Delhi he was attacked by the Jâts, a tribe known up to that time only as peasants and robbers. They plundered him of almost all his valuable property; and among other things took the hundred camel loads of gold and silver with which he had been provided by his father. The fruits of this and other similar attacks upon travellers and remnants of armies, were laid out in the construction of the mud forts of Bhurtpore, Hatras, Deeg, Gohud, &c., which enabled their leaders to make depredations on all the surrounding territories, and retain garrisons that were long considered impreg-

nable by the natives, and afterwards found very formidable even to our own armies.

The spirit of union, which animated and strengthened them in their infancy, as mere bands of robbers, fostered and supported their growth to the mature age of formidable principalities, when it became dignified with the name of patriotism, or national feeling. They continued, what they had always been, cultivators of the soil and robbers; only they now robbed upon a large scale; and had not two powerful rivals appeared, in the English and Mahrattas, the Jâts would probably have soon become sole masters of the empire of Hindoostan. Out of the nuclei of these bands of robbers, grown into principalities and converted to the religion of Nanuk Shah, extending from the Jumna to the Indus, was formed, by one master spirit, the empire of the Seiks. The unconverted Jâts along the Jumna and Chumbul, virtually wielded the power of the house of Tymoor on the throne of Delhi, when those two rivals entered the arena; and they waited only for the same master spirit, the Runjeetsing, to unite their efforts upon more distant expeditions, with the name, pomp, and circumstance, of glorious war! Along the Jumna and Chumbul they have now, under a government that can effectually prevent their indulging their old sporting propensities, sunk quietly down into peaceful subjects and industrious peasantry, and between the Jumna and the Indus, it is to be hoped they will, at no distant period, sink to the

same state under the same beneficent rule. There is this difference between the two. The Gangs or enemies of both were composed almost exclusively of members of the same family or tribe, Jâts or Seiks, (which the Jâts easily became, having no recognized caste of their own among Hindoos;) but the conquest and occupation of Cashmere, Peshawar, and Mooltan, augmented the Seik army so much, that it absorbed all the members of the tribe over the country they occupied; their ploughshares were all converted into swords; and every Nanuk Shahee Jât became a soldier. Their places in agriculture were filled by men of other castes; and the Seiks became segregated from the soil, and from the mass of the peaceful and industrious over whom they tyrannized, and with whom they have never since had any bond of union or sympathy—"a breath may mar them as a breath hath made." The Jâts along the Chumbul and the Jumna, on the contrary, were never united under any conqueror, whose ambition could combine and direct their powers to foreign conquests, and keep them up as a standing army employed exclusively in military duties for his service. They continued to drive their own ploughs while they fought their own battles; or their families drove them for them, like the Romans in the early periods of their history. Dara had orders from his father to the governor of Delhi, to furnish him with all the elephants and horses in the imperial stables, which would of themselves have been sufficient to mount a

considerable force; but this governor, who had been in correspondence with Ourungzebe, knew that Sooleeman had fled to the mountains, and left all his army to the victor; and he refused to allow Dara to enter into the citadel, or to take anything from the treasury, arsenals, or stables of his father. Dara now, deserted by all the chiefs whom he had insulted in his days of pride and power, proceeded by a rapid march to Lahore, accompanied by about ten thousand men, mostly new levies.

CHAPTER XLI.

SHAH JEHAN IMPRISONED BY HIS TWO SONS, OURUNGZEBE AND MOORAD.

On the 3rd of June, 1658, Ourungzebe and Moorad marched their armies to Agra, and encamped about two miles from the fortress in which stood the palace of their father. Shah Jehan tried all he could to persuade his two sons to pay him a visit unattended; and for several days the people of the capital were amused with the preparations for the interview. It was Shah Jehan's intention to have them both seized and put to death, or confined in prison, by means of a band of masculine Calmuck women, whom he kept well armed in the seraglio. All that he did and intended to do was made known to Ourungzebe, by his sister Roshunara, and other friends with whom he kept up a close correspondence. Jehanara, however, steady to the interests of her father and Dara, entered into the scheme; and did all she could to persuade Ourungzebe to come

into the citadel, and become reconciled to his father. Two plans had been proposed and deliberated upon after the defeat of Dara. One, for the Emperor to take the field, and rally round him all the chiefs and forces that he could; the other to inveigle the rebel brothers into the fortress, and there to dispose of them. Ourungzebe was made every day acquainted with these deliberations; and afraid that the Emperor might be tempted to adopt that plan which would still give him a chance of success, he made his sister Jehanara believe, that he was really impatient to throw himself at his father's feet, and implore forgiveness for the past, if she could only secure to him protection against the resentment of his two brothers, the ambitious Moorad and the haughty Dara! All this she believed, because she wished it; and because Moorad had insulted her by the indolent manner in which he received her advances. Moorad never knew how or when to suppress his emotions, or subdue his passions. Jehanara, hating as she did her brother Ourungzebe, paid her first visit to Moorad, pretending that she believed Ourungzebe had been honest in considering him as the Commander-in-chief. Moorad, knowing how much she was devoted to Dara, and opposed to them, treated her with indignity; and she was leaving the camp in disgust when Ourungzebe rushed out bare-footed, and holding one of the legs of her palanqueen in his right hand, ran along by her side, and entreated her to honour his tent with her presence, if but for a moment. She

was pleased with this mark of homage from the real commander of a victorious army in the midst of his soldiers; and went back to his tent, where she was flattered into the persuasion, that Ourungzebe was really the man he pretended to be, and deterred from seeking a reconciliation with his father merely by the dread of the resentment and ambition of his brothers! Full of this persuasion, and pleased with the notion that she had herself inspired him with these better feelings, she returned to her father to make arrangements for the expected interview.*

Shah Jehan was by this means prevented from taking the field, or appearing out of the palace, where he waited day after day expecting the promised visits of his sons. Ourungzebe deferred his visit on various pretences, till at last an *intercepted letter* was brought to him in open council, addressed from the Emperor to Dara, commanding him to advance no further than Delhi, as he was about to receive a visit from his two brothers, and should take good care that they never stood in his way again. This letter had been forged by Ourungzebe himself for the occasion; but the thing had been so well contrived and executed, that hardly any person in the army but this prince himself and Shaestakhan knew the secret; and the sympathy for the father, which had begun to be felt by all classes of people

* Jehanara's visit took place on the 12th of June, 1658, and Ourungzebe and Moorad went and took possession of the palace of Dara on the 15th.

through the army and city, was in some measure transferred to the two rebel sons. "The bird that escaped the net is about to be caught again," was the expression in this letter, which was sent by a fast runner well known, and called Nadir Dil. It was intercepted by one of Shaestakhan's troopers. The fortress was surrounded by the two armies, and the prince Mahomed had erected his batteries ready to blow down the walls, when his grandfather consented to receive him as the representative of his father Ourungzebe, who pretended to be extremely ill. This prince contrived to gain over the soldiers on duty at the gates, who admitted a considerable body of select armed followers. Advancing with them to the interior apartments of the palace, he put to death every man he met, without distinction. Soldiers, slaves, eunuchs, and women, were all indiscriminately murdered. Shah Jehan sat on his throne ready to receive him, amidst the presents of inestimable value, which had been prepared as a bait for his father. The Emperor was mad with rage when he found himself foiled at his own game, and actually a prisoner in the hands of his grandson, with his attendants cut down and massacred at his palace doors. In his passion he sent to the young soldier, and invited him to come in and ascend the throne at which his father was aiming, but which he would disgrace by his armies. He offered to swear solemnly on the Koran, to bestow that throne on him, and maintain him upon it, if he would only set himself up as the defender

of his old grandfather against his rebellious sons. 'Such an action would," he said, "secure to him the blessing of heaven, and establish him in the affections of all good men, who would applaud the delivery of his grandfather from a vile prison, and the punishment of two rebellious sons."

Had Mahomed consented to be made the means of avenging the old man's injuries upon his two sons, he might possibly have attained the throne; but distrusting his grandfather's designs, and dreading his father's powers and abilities to frustrate them, should they be honest, he declined the invitation, and demanded the key of every gate of the fortress, that his father might come with full assurance of safety to *throw himself at his feet!* For two days Mahomed waited with all his men under arms to receive the keys, till at last Shah Jehan, seeing all the guards, one after the other, withdrawn from the small gates that led to his apartments, delivered up the keys to his grandson, who conveyed them to his father. Ourungzebe sent in Etbar Khan, as temporary governor of the fortress; and he shut up the Emperor and his eldest daughter, and all his women, in their apartments, causing all the gateways, doors, and windows that were not indispensable, and well-guarded, to be walled up, to prevent any communication between them and the people without, except through him.* Ourungzebe wrote at the same time a short letter addressed to his father, excusing himself

* The Emperor was put in prison on the 16th of June, 1658.

for proceeding to such lengths against his *august person*, on the ground of his evident determination to sacrifice all his other sons to the passions and ambition of Dara, as evinced in the intercepted letter, and the necessity they were under to provide for their own safety. "Had it not been for these, his father's designs against his life, he should," he said, "have paid his respects to him on the first day of his arrival; and as soon as he should have put it out of Dara's power further to prosecute his evil designs, he would still come, open the gates to him, throw himself at his feet, and implore his forgiveness and blessing. He took care that copies of this letter should be circulated through the armies, and sent to all the provinces of the empire; but it is believed he never sent it to his father, as it was no longer a matter of any importance to him what *he* might think or feel upon the subject of his conduct towards him.

The family of Ameer Jumla had been set at liberty when the victors first entered Agra; and he was now sent off as the viceroy of Moorad, to Gozarat and Khandeish. The treasures found in the palace were, to all appearance, divided equally among the brothers; but it was Ourungzebe's policy to allow much to be concealed, where he was sure hereafter to find it; and of what was taken, the greater part went unperceived to his coffers. He appointed their uncle, Shaestakhan, in whose devotion and ability he could entirely rely, as governor of the city; and all the great officers of state now flocked about

him to tender their services. The Emperor, who had suffered himself to be thus shut up in his own apartment, was no longer thought of. Had he, instead of attempting to contest with his wary son, Ourungzebe, at his own game, and trying to inveigle him into his power, boldly shown himself among his troops a few days before, the armies which he had created and commanded with brilliant and uninterrupted success for thirty years, would still, it is thought by most people, have supported him: and his sons might have been ashamed openly to fight against their venerable father. Their only hope, at first, lay in his being unable to show himself at the head of his troops in the field, or being persuaded to remain at home by Dara; as this was the only thing that could give a colour to their impudent pretence, that he was a prisoner in the hands of his eldest son, and not a free agent, and that they had really taken up arms to rescue and avenge him. But after they had got to the capital, and Dara had fled before them, it was, perhaps, too late for him to do so, with a fair chance of success. Many of the most powerful leaders, who knew perfectly well that the Emperor was all along a free agent, had compromised themselves by openly joining the rebel sons; and like these sons themselves, they all felt that they had gone too far to recede—that they must now crush the Emperor or perish. It is thought that the old man would have made the attempt, had not Ourungzebe managed to persuade his sister

Jehanara, that he would really wait upon his father, and throw himself at his feet. She certainly prevailed upon her father to rely upon her assurance, that Ourungzebe would come; and the father knew the incapacity of Moorad too well to care whether he came or not.

CHAPTER XLII.

OURUNGZEBE THROWS OFF THE MASK, IMPRISONS HIS BROTHER MOORAD, AND ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE

HAVING secured the person of the Emperor, and provided for the fidelity and tranquillity of the capital, the two armies commenced their march in pursuit of the fugitive Dara—Ourungzebe's army keeping on the right, and Moorad's on the left bank of the river Jumna. Ourungzebe crossed the river, and passed much time with his brother every day, talking chiefly on the subject of his coronation, which he had resolved should take place near the old mosque at Mathara, but his real design seemed clear to everybody but his infatuated brother himself. He was advised to remain at the capital, since he had been declared Emperor, and to permit Ourungzebe to pursue Dara alone; but his desire for military fame would not permit him to see his armies led to further victories by another. His favourite attendant,

the eunuch Shah Abas, every day urged upon him the necessity of guarding himself against the designs of his brother, which had become evident to everybody but himself; but nothing could awaken the suspicions of Moorad, who saw the preparations that his brother was making for his coronation with undisguised delight, and entirely relied upon his affection, and professed desire to devote himself entirely to religion, and to see on the throne the man who was most likely to enforce its observances. Before the armies left Agra, that of Moorad clamoured for arrears of pay, and he tried in vain to persuade the bankers of that city to send him the means to defray them. Ourungzebe's army had been regularly paid, and he now lent Moorad money enough to pay his their arrears. During the whole march to Mathara, discipline had been entirely disregarded in Moorad's army. The tents of the prince were scenes of perpetual debauchery; and riot and disorder filled his camp. In Ourungzebe's, on the contrary, the strictest discipline was observed; the whole army went to their morning, evening, and midday prayers, with as much regularity in camp as in quarters. Councils were regularly held; and all the principal officers were made to feel that they had the confidence of their prince, and could entirely rely upon him as long as he should be able to rely upon them. This confidence in the capacity of their leader, and his ability to discern merit and reward services, the officers imparted to their men; and, in spite of all his crimes

and dissimulations, no man ever commanded an army more devoted to his service.

The preparations for the coronation of Moorad being ready, the day for the ceremony, after consulting the stars, was fixed for the 27th of June, 1658. The spot chosen was the great plain in front of the old mosque. Tents, formed of the richest gold brocade, were pitched all round this plain; and the whole area within was covered with canopies of rich coloured cloth, supported upon poles fastened to the ground by ropes of silk. Upon a throne, under these magnificent canopies, and in the midst of the armies, Moorad was to receive the turban and the imperial sabre from the hands of the great Quazee, or chief priest of the Mahomedan religion. The day before the ceremony was to have taken place, Ourungzebe was unable to pay his usual evening visit to Moorad, in consequence of sudden indisposition; and, as it was necessary once more to consult the astrologers about the suitableness of the day fixed upon, he begged Moorad would come and sup with him. Shah Abas again urged his prince not to put himself in the power of his brother, but in vain. They were followed by only a few of his household troops. As he landed on the right bank of the river, he met an old acquaintance, Ibrahim Khan, now an officer in his brother's army. Shocked to see the generous prince so infatuated, he seized his horse by the bridle, and exclaimed, "Whither are you going, my prince, and what evil star leads you to Ourungzebe?"

"I go, Ibrahim, to fetch the crown; it is from the Quazee's hands that I am to receive it."

Ibrahim retired, and turning away his face, wiped a tear from his eye, for he had received from him much kindness, though he was now in the service of another. The Quazee, from whom he was to receive the imperial ensigns, met him at the door of Ourungzebe's tent, and tried to put him on his guard by greeting him with these words—"Your entrance is fortunate, my prince. May it please the Almighty that your departure may be so likewise!"

There was so much of kindness, affection, and respect in the manner with which Ourungzebe received his brother, that all feelings of distrust were removed in their cordial embrace, not only from Moorad's own bosom, but from that of every one of his followers, save the trusty Shah Abas, who gave his master up as lost. Ourungzebe, while he embraced him, with all the warmth of a brother's affection, addressed him with all the respect of a subject. After embracing him, he, with the feelings of the tenderest solicitude, gently passed his handkerchief over his face, and wiped off the dust and perspiration of this journey; for the weather had become intensely hot, and the roads were very dusty. He had arranged everything with Ameer Khan, and a few other of his confidential officers, who really supped with him; and when the wine began to circulate, he begged his brother to permit him to take a little repose, as he was still weak, and in a good deal of pain; and wished

to prepare for the august ceremonies of the coronation, which was to take place the next morning. The wine of Shiraz circulated freely. Moorad got drunk, and fell asleep upon the carpet. All the rest retired. All Moorad's officers had, by Ourungzebe's orders, been entertained by the principal officers of his suite with the same excellent wines. Shah Abas and the other attendant, when they found their master left alone, went in and sat by him as he slept; but about midnight Ourungzebe ordered them out, that his brother might sleep the more quietly. He had then his sword and poniard removed, as if they incommoded him; and shortly after going in himself, he put on an air of great indignation, and spurned Moorad with his foot. "What shame, what infamy are you bringing upon us and our cause? An emperor of the Moguls to be lying drunk upon the floor! What will be said of us? Take this infamous man," exclaimed he, in a seeming transport of rage, "this beastly drunkard, who thus violates the laws of God and his holy prophet, and throw him into yonder dark room to sleep out his wine unseen by man!"

Six men rushed in well armed, with silver fetters. Moorad awoke, stood up, and, not finding his sword, called out lustily for help. "Let him die if he resists," said his brother. The fetters were soon put upon his legs; and he was thrown into a separate tent, and well guarded. The music continued to play as if nothing had interrupted the festivity of the

two brothers; and the friends of Moorad, roused by his shouts, were rushing towards him, when they were assured that their master, in a fit of drunkenness, too common to him, had been abusing everybody, even his own brother; and was now put to bed that he might repose, and be ready for the ceremonies in the morning. Shah Abas was at the same time pinioned and thrown into another tent. Men were sent through the whole camp with the same story about Moorad's drunken fit, and with handsome presents to all the principal officers; and promises of increased pay and promotion to the whole army, as a reward for the value of their past services. In the morning the greater part of Moorad's army came across the river to see the ceremony of the coronation, all unarmed, according to orders, as it had been pretended, that on the occasion of such tumultuous rejoicings, it might be dangerous to allow the multitude to be armed. Almost all the officers had expected this event, and the greater part of them desired it, as they considered Ourungzebe to be the only man who could lead them safely through the perilous enterprise in which they had all embarked their hopes, and only dreaded that he might be honest in his professed desire of a life of religious retirement.

Moorad and his faithful follower, Shah Abas, had before daylight, on the morning that he was to have been crowned, been placed in two close litters, and sent off upon the backs of two elephants towards

Delhi, where they were imprisoned in the small fort of Suleengurh, situated upon an island in the Jumna.* Some of the most trusty of the troops of Ourungzebe were placed all around the enclosure; and when the armies had assembled to witness the coronation, some persons, placed near the platform on which it was to take place, called out, "Long life to the Ourungzebe!" This was echoed by other persons placed in different parts of the area, and by the armed squadrons outside, and soon after shouted with an enthusiasm throughout the whole multitude; and when Ourungzebe, who waited only for this signal, showed himself upon the platform where his brother was to have been crowned, he was received with tumultuous shouts of applause, as if but one uncontrollable feeling of delight animated the whole mass. He seated himself for a moment upon the throne, and then retired.

There was not the slightest appearance of a movement in favour of his brother, or a change in the minds of the people; they had lost their nominal, but retained their real head; and they all felt, that in reality there had been a change for the better, that they were under the undisguised command of a man capable of conducting them to wealth, honour, and glory; and bound to wear the crown they should win

* Moorad was put in prison on the 27th of June, [illegible], Ourungzebe was formally crowned Emperor on the [illegible] of July, 1658; and the day after set out in pursuit of Dara. The coronation took place in the Shalamar garden, near Delhi.

for him, or perish. "The Emperor became," says a sensible Italian narrator of these events, "the fruit of an intrigue the best sustained, and most ably conducted of any recorded in history." Ourungzebe was now forty years of age; his father, Shah Jehan, sixty-seven.

Ourungzebe now left Mathara at the head of both armies, and proceeded to Delhi in search of Dara, who, hearing of his approach, left that city, and took the road to Lahore, raising troops and levying contributions for their payment as he advanced. Sooleeman, at the head of seven thousand men, whom he had collected around him in the mountains, descended into the plains at Hurdwar to join his father; but Ourungzebe, calculating upon the probability of this attempt, had pushed on Fidac Khan, at the head of fifteen thousand veteran troops, who soon dispersed the new levies of the young prince, and he was obliged to return to the mountains. Dara passed the Sutlege at the head of thirty thousand men; crossed the Bea, and leaving there a large force, under the command of Daood Khan, to defend the passage against his brother, went on to Lahore.

Ourungzebe, six days after the coronation, on the 29th of July, set out in pursuit of Dara. The solstitial rains had set in heavily, and the countries over which the armies passed were for the most part under water. He knew the danger of giving repose either to Dara or his own troops. He was often alone many miles in advance of his troops, eating

nothing but dry unleavened bread, drinking nothing but water, and reposing, when he reposed at all, under a tree with nothing but his shield for a pillow, like the humblest soldier in his army. Daood Khan had taken up a strong position on the Bea, had fortified it well, was devotedly attached to the cause of Dara, and so strong in force, that he could have effectually kept Ourungzebe in check several months. The Emperor saw this, and having endeavoured in vain to corrupt him, he managed, through his friends in Dara's camp, to circulate reports so much to his prejudice, that Dara commanded him to abandon the post, and join him at Lahore! He did so with great reluctance. Ourungzebe passed the Bea without opposition, and continued the pursuit. Dara should have retreated from Lahore upon Cabool, where Mohubbut reigned as viceroy, was much beloved by the army and the people, and devotedly attached to the cause of Shah Jehan and Dara. He commanded the Khyber Pass between Cabool and Lahore, and the Bholan Pass between Bukkur and Candahar; which passes have always been considered the keys of Hindoostan to the westward, and might have been easily defended against Ourungzebe by a very small force. The traitor, Khuleeloolah, however, who deserted him on the Chumbul, and others who had been sent on in advance, in pursuit of him, were too close to give him much time for deliberation; and in an evil hour he determined to take the road through Mooltan to Gozerat. His troops, finding that they had

nothing to hope, and everything to fear from the guidance of such a man, who never seemed to know what to do, or whom to trust in time of difficulty, now deserted him in crowds.

CHAPTER XLIII.

OURUNGZEBE MEETS SHOOJAH IN BENGAL AND DEFEATS HIM, AFTER PURSUING DARA TO THE HYPHASIS.

OURUNGZEBE pursued him so far as Mooltan, and there, finding that he was no longer formidable, and that his brother Shoojah was in full march from Bengal to Delhi, with the pretended desire to release their father and Moorad from prison, he left the pursuit to a division under the command of his foster brother, Meer Baba, and retraced his steps with the rest of his army towards Delhi.* Between Mooltan and Lahore, while, as usual, several miles in advance of his troops, he suddenly and unexpectedly met the Rajah Jysing, at the head of six thousand Rajpoot cavalry. Jysing was following up with the design of siding with the strongest, for he was attached to the old Emperor, Shah Jehan, and would have been glad of an opportunity of rescuing him

* Ourungzebe left Mooltan, on his return, on the 11th of October, 1658.

from prison, though he disliked Dara, from the affront he had passed upon him in calling him a music-master. When he saw Ourungzebe advancing towards him on his elephant, almost alone, he concluded that he had been defeated, and was retreating; and at first resolved to seize him, take him a prisoner to Agra, and restore the old Emperor to liberty and empire. Ourungzebe saw his danger, and warded it off with his usual address. Going up boldly to Jysing, he exclaimed—"My friend and father, you are come in good time—Dara is lost: he is a wretched fugitive in the deserts, without money or troops; and I have left a handful of men under Meer Baba to pursue him, that I may go back and settle affairs at Agra. I am afraid that his deserters may be making disturbances at Lahore. My army is a good deal fatigued, and does not come on fast enough; yours is fresh; go, for God's sake, and take care of that city and province. I make you governor of them!" Saying this, he took from his own neck a string of pearls of immense value, and put them over the neck of the Rajah, saying—"Your conduct towards Sooleeman Shekoh has made me for ever your debtor: to such a friend I can entrust anything. But Dulele Khan is not with you! I shall be revenged upon him. Farewell, my best of friends!" Saying this he passed on, and the Rajah, with all his troops, followed in his train. Had he faltered, or hesitated a moment, he would have been a prisoner, and taken off to Agra by the Rajpoot cavalry, be-

fore any of his troops could have been brought up to his rescue.

Jeswunt Sing followed up with his new levies to support the cause of Dara, should he find him in a condition to make a stand against his brother; but discovering that he had been deserted by his armies, he tried to make a virtue of necessity, and joined Ourungzebe, who received him coldly. Ourungzebe entered Lahore on the 25th of October, and Delhi on the 21st of November. Here he halted three days, and celebrated his birth-day, being in his forty-first year. All the most able chiefs of the empire assisted at this ceremony; and among the rest Daood Khan, the last of the great men who deserted the cause of Dara. Finding him determined to persist in his resolution to take the road through Scinde to Gozerat, he gave up his cause in despair, and offered his services to Ourungzebe, who, aware of his abilities, received him with great distinction.

Ameer Jumla, who had been sent to the government of Gozerat and Khandeish, after his release from prison, was now ordered to join Ourungzebe with all the troops that he could bring from these provinces, to assist in the campaign against Shoojah. Having reinforced the troops under Shaesta, at Agra, to enable him to meet any attempts on the part of young Sooleeman from the mountains; and sent his brother Moorad from Suleengurh a prisoner to Gwalior, Ourungzebe now set out, on the 3rd of December, to meet his brother Shoojah, who was

advancing from Bengal at the head of an army far more powerful than he had yet had to encounter, because better organised and disciplined, and more united in feelings of attachment and fidelity to their chief. He took the Rajah Jeswunt Sing with him. Not one man in the army of Shoojah could be prevailed upon to betray him, so much had he made himself beloved and respected in his government. Mahomed, the eldest son of Ourungzebe, had been appointed governor of Mooltan, and he was now ordered to join his father with four thousand horse from that province. Ourungzebe, to enable him and Meer Jumla to join him, moved down slowly between the Ganges and Jumna. Shoojah, having refreshed his army a few days at the city of Allahabad, which stands at the junction of these two rivers, moved up seventy miles to the town of Kujwa, where he took up an excellent position on the bank of a large reservoir of fine water, without wood or water beyond it for many miles, to afford shade or refreshment to an army.

This position he fortified strongly, placing his batteries on a rising ground, with entrenchments all round; and Ourungzebe was obliged to encamp several miles distant, from the want of water. Ameer Jumla, who had pushed on before his forces from Khandeish and Gozerat, and joined him a few days before, suggested a plan to draw Shoojah from his strong entrenchments by a feigned retreat. The armies were drawn out for action on the 6th of

January, 1659; but after a few discharges of artillery both retired. During the following night Ameer Jumla got forty guns well placed, and chained to each other, so that no cavalry could charge through them. He was all night employed in preparing this artillery, and encouraging the troops for the coming conflict; while Ourungzebe remained all night fervently at prayers, imploring the Deity to grant him victory. Just before dawn, and while he was still at his prayers, horrible screams were heard from the rear, where the families of Mahomed Sultan and the chief nobility had been placed; and it was found that Jeswunt Sing, with all the Rajpoot cavalry, twenty thousand in number, had treacherously attacked the rear of Ourungzebe's camp, and were cutting up men, women, and children, and carrying off all the valuables they could collect. Jeswunt Sing had the evening before sent word to Shoojah, that he should do this, in order to give him an opportunity to attack his brother, in the midst of the disorder. This he was prevented from doing by Ameer Jumla's judicious disposition of the artillery. Ten thousand men were sent back to defend the baggage and camp followers; and many officers of distinction who were among them with their followers, either went off to the enemy or returned to their homes, for the defection of twenty thousand Rajpoot cavalry at such a critical time, and the disorder which followed, seemed to leave Ourungzebe no chance of victory, for none of Ameer Jumla's

troops had yet come up from Gozerat. Not more than half his army remained when the rising sun saw their chief, with his usual serenity of countenance, marshalling them for action, and assuring them of divine protection; and, above all, they saw Ameer Jumla by his side.

Shoojah had two sons in the action. Zyaoddeen, the eldest; and Balund Akhteer, the youngest. Ourungzebe had his eldest son, Mahomed Sultan. The elephant on which Shoojah was mounted was the largest and boldest in the field; and seeing Ourungzebe in the midst of his troops, he pushed the animal on upon him, in the hope of deciding the battle by bearing him down before him. Preceded by some squadrons of his guards, he made his way up to the spot on which he stood, urging on his troops; but one of Ourungzebe's officers seeing his intention, pushed his elephant in between them. His elephant was overthrown in the shock, but he saved that of his master; and Shoojah's was so stunned that he stood trembling in every limb. One of Shoojah's officers now pushed his elephant upon Ourungzebe's, which in the shock fell upon his knees, and the girths of the castle giving way at the same time, it was nearly coming to the ground. None of the horses could be brought up to join in the strife, and Ourungzebe had put one foot out of the castle to descend, when Ameer Jumla called out to him from a distance, with a stentorian voice, "Where is the Deccan now! Where is the Deccan now!"

Meaning there is no retreat now. He drew back his foot, and sat down again; the girths, though loosened by the shock, held on. The adversary's elephant still pressed him, when the man who sat behind Ourungzebe shot the driver; but the animal still pressed on, till the driver of Ourungzebe's elephant managed to spring upon his neck, and force him off. His place was supplied by the man behind the prince, who now got over upon the neck of his elephant, and made him retire. The day seemed lost to Ourungzebe, when Alla Verdee Khan came up to Shoojah, who was unable to urge on his elephant after the shock in which he had been so much stunned, and entreated him earnestly not to sit there idle, as darkness was coming on, and the enemy must escape under it if he did not descend, mount his horse, and pursue them. He addressed him almost in the same words that Khuleeloolah had addressed to the unfortunate Dara in the battle of the Chumbul—"Come down, in the name of God, from that unwieldy beast, and mount your horse. God has made you sovereign of India. Let us pursue the fugitives that Ourungzebe may not escape us!"* He had no sooner descended from his elephant, in the dusk of

* Alla Verdee Khan was no traitor. He thought this the only way to secure the person of Ourungzebe and the imperial crown for Shoojah; but after the battle he was put to a cruel death by the prince he intended to serve for this supposed act of treason! He had his tongue pulled out by the roots at Rajmahal. A son of his was put to death at the same time.

the evening, than a report spread quickly through his army, that their chief had been slain. A panic seized the whole; and they retreated with precipitation from the field, of which they had only a few minutes before been the acknowledged masters. The camp was given up to plunder, but Ourungzebe got one hundred and fourteen guns, the treasure chest and wardrobe, as his share of the spoils.

As soon as Jeswunt heard the unexpected news of Shoojah's army flying from the field, he set out towards Agra with the treasure. It had been his intention to make as good terms as he could with Shoojah, should he gain the victory; but he now made the best of his way home through Agra. News had gone before him, that Ourungzebe had been entirely defeated; and when he reached Agra it was supposed that he came to release Shah Jehan, and put him once more upon the throne. Shaestakhan, the governor and uncle of the contending princes, attempted to take poison, knowing that he had no mercy to expect either from Shoojah or his father, should the defeat of Ourungzebe leave either of them his master. He was prevented by his wife; and Jeswunt Sing's rapid retreat through Agra restored the drooping spirits of Ourungzebe's party at the capital.

CHAPTER XLIV.

OURUNGZEBE IMPRISONS HIS ELDEST SON—SHOOJAH AND ALL HIS FAMILY ARE DESTROYED.

SENDING Ameer Jumla and his son Mahomed in pursuit of Shoojah, Ourungzebe returned to Agra; and on the way the Rajah Jysing joined him. Ameer Jumla was promised the government of Bengal, with the reversion of it to his son; and to the latter he said at parting—"Thou art the first born of my children; and it is for thine own interest that thou fightest. Much hast thou done; but all must count as nothing, unless Shoojah, the most powerful, and most able of all our enemies, is overcome!" He kept, as hostages for their fidelity, the only son of Jumla, ostensibly that he might look after his education, and the wife of his son Mahomed, the daughter of the king of Golconda, on the pretence that the wife of the heir apparent ought not to be again exposed as she had been at the battle of Kujwa. Shoojah had retreated to Mongheer, where he hoped

to defend himself against Jumla. He was afraid to move the war further down, lest the Rajahs of Lower Bengal should take part with his brother against him; but he soon found that Mahomed and Jumla, leaving part of their army, with the artillery and baggage, to come down by water, had passed his flanks with their light troops, and were actually attempting to cut off his retreat by rapid maches upon Rajmahal! He now moved his army down with all possible haste, and reached that place before them.

In a few days all Shoojah's defences were beaten down by the enemy, and he was obliged to retreat across the river Ganges at night. Jumla intended to follow in the morning, but the rains set in that night in torrents, and he and the young prince were obliged to take up their quarters for that season where they were. The prince had never forgiven Jumla for refusing to come to his father when he was sent for him, and coming afterwards, when his younger brother, Mouzzim, was sent; and to the personal dislike arising from this cause, was now added a feeling of jealousy at the superior reliance which his father seemed to place in Jumla's abilities for the successful termination of hostilities against Shoojah. He became every day more haughty and insolent, and boasted continually of having given the crown to his father. Jumla, fully conscious of his own merits and abilities, and of the confidence reposed in him by Ourungzebe, found his conduct altogether unsupportable, and reported it to his father. He

severely reprimanded; and fearing that Jumla orders to arrest him, he went over to his uncle, whose eldest daughter he had in his boyhood been fianced. From their infancy, Mahomed and Aesha re said to have been fond of each other; and it was with great reluctance that he yielded to the injunctions of his father, to unite himself to the daughter of the king of Golconda, with a view to the inheritance of that kingdom. Shoojah and his daughter were aware of this, and the prince was received with much kindness; but the wary Ourungzebe, by letters addressed to the young prince himself, which he knew would be intercepted, soon caused it to be strongly suspected that he was there by his advice; and Shoojah refused, in consequence, to entrust him with any important command. Unable to remain where he knew he had become an object of suspicion, he returned to the camp of Jumla, who received him kindly, and promised to intercede with his father for his pardon. He was, however, by peremptory orders from Ourungzebe, sent off towards the capital with a strong escort; but on the way he was transferred to another, which took him, in a covered litter on an elephant, to the fortress of Gwalior.* Bernier, who was at that time at the

* In the fifteenth year of Ourungzebe's reign, Mahomed Sultan was taken out of prison, and married to the daughter of the unfortunate Moorad Buksh. He died six years after the marriage. His intellects had been impaired by his captivity, and he lived a secluded life.

court of Delhi, in the capacity of physician to Danishmund Khan, states, that Ourungzebe, when he heard of his eldest son Mahomed being safely lodged in the fortress of Gwalior, observed to his second son, the young but sagacious Sultan Mouzzim, who had been married to the daughter of Rajah Roopsing—"To reign securely over such an empire as that of Hindoostan, a sovereign needs, my son, to be jealous even of his own shadow; and if you are not more discreet than your brother has been, the same fate which has now befallen him, must befal you, for you must know that your father, Ourungzebe, is not a man likely to suffer his sons to do to him what his father, Shah Jehan, did to his father, Jehangeer, and what you have seen done to your grandfather, Shah Jehan. If," adds the physician, "this son continue to deport himself as he hath hitherto done, Ourungzebe will never have any cause to suspect him, or to be in any way dissatisfied with him, for no slave can be more tractable than he is; and Ourungzebe himself never appeared more careless of worldly greatness, nor more entirely given up to religious devotion than he does! Yet I know men of great parts who believe that he is not at heart so pious and disinterested, and that he puts on the appearance of these virtues, like his father, out of policy, to serve his own ambitious purposes." In a struggle, similar to that which I now narrate, between the four sons of Ourungzebe, which took place forty years after, Prince Mouzzim attained the throne

by the destruction of all other competitors. But his piety was nevertheless sincere, and he is considered to have been the most amiable of the brothers.

Shoojah, after many unsuccessful battles, was driven from place to place along the line of the Ganges by *Jumla, whose armies were reinforced by all the* means which Ourungzebe could spare from time to time as he mastered Dara, and got young Sooleeman into his power; and they kept up the pursuit with great activity and skill on both sides of that great river. On reaching the city of Dacca, he sent off his eldest son, the Sultan Zeenoddeen, to the Rajah of Aracan, to request that he would afford him and his family an asylum in his dominions till the season should be favourable for him to embark with them for Aracan, whence he intended to proceed to Persia or Turkey. The young prince was well received at Aracan, and promised all that his father asked. He received orders from the Rajah to take what vessels he required for his father's conveyance from Chittagong, a place then within the territories of this Rajah, and occupied exclusively by a colony of christian pirates, from Portugal, Holland, and other parts of Europe, who resided here under his protection, and ravaged all the coast of Bengal and Coromandel, taking the ships and selling the crews as slaves to him and other chiefs along the Aracan coast. In these vessels Shoojah embarked with his wife, three sons, and three daughters, and a few faithful followers. He took all his most valu-

able property with him; and it is said that the pirates designedly sank one vessel, containing money and other valuables not likely to suffer from the water, knowing that the prince would be afraid to remain long enough to recover it, while so closely pursued by the enemy; and that they should be able to secure it for themselves on their return.

His force, after his departure, went over to Jumla, who was glad to receive them all on favourable terms, that they might not disperse, and create disorders in the province for whose good government he was in future to be alone responsible. Shoojah and his family were hospitably received in Aracan, and allowed to remain there in security, though Jumla often attempted by large promises to prevail upon the Rajah to deliver them into his hands. When the season for sailing to Arabia arrived, Shoojah demanded from the Rajah the ship he had promised to provide them with for the passage; but he was put off from day to day, and month to month, with vain promises, till the season had passed away; and it became evident, that the Rajah had no intention to suffer them to depart from his coast.* He had determined to possess himself of the treasures of which Shoojah and his family were in the habit of making too ostentatious a display. The Rajah com-

* Tavernier says, "That Shoojah here married one of the daughters of the Rajah, and had a son by her." Para. 2, Book ii. I don't find this mentioned in any other author, either native or European.

plained at last that Shoojah had never honoured his palace with a visit. It was not usual for the sons of the Emperors to return the visits of men of his rank; and Shoojah was, besides, afraid to entrust himself so entirely to the power of this chief. It was suspected, that he had a design to get hold of him quietly, make him over to Ameer Jumla, destroy his family, and possess himself of all his treasures. Shoojah, therefore, sent his eldest son to pay his respects to the Rajah, and request him to excuse his father's not coming, on the plea of indisposition, and urge the fulfilment of his promise, to provide them with a ship for their passage to Arabia. The young prince ostentatiously scattered gold and silver coin among the crowd assembled round the Rajah's palace, and along the road leading to it. Coming before the Rajah, he placed before him presents of great value in gold brocades, and the rarest and richest èmbroideries of the east, and magnificent gold ornaments set with precious stones. All these things are supposed to have kindled the avidity of the chief, who promised to have the ship prepared forthwith for their conveyance; but took good care that none should be forthcoming.

Five days after the visit of the prince, his father is said to have received a message from the Rajah, demanding from him one of his daughters as a wife. This demand Shoojah rejected with indignation; and in despair of ever being able otherwise to get out of the power of the Rajah, he formed the reso-

lution to destroy him and all his family, and get himself declared king of Aracan. About three hundred of his old companions in arms had followed him to Aracan; and they now formed his guards. A great many Mahomedans from Bengal had got into the service of the Rajah, and still more had been captured by the Christian pirates of Chittagong, and sold as slaves. All these people were found ready to join in the enterprise; and everything being prepared, the day was fixed for carrying it into effect. Sultan Shoojah and his sons were in person to have led the guards, and all the Mahomedans that should be found ready to join them, at the palace, where they were to have put the Rajah and all his family to the sword. The day before this was to have been done, however, the plot was discovered and made known to the Rajah. Shoojah with his family and followers attempted to escape through the forests to Pugan, as it was now the cold season, when no danger was to be apprehended from sickness in passing such dense, and at the other seasons deadly jungles; but they were the same day pursued by all the troops the Rajah could collect, They came up with them in a narrow defile on the 7th February, 1660, and attacked them on all sides. Shoojah and his followers fought bravely, and slew a great many of the enemy; but they were at last overpowered by numbers. All his followers were killed or disabled; and his eldest son, Zeenoddeen, was knocked down senseless by a large stone thrown upon him from the hill above.

Sultan Shoojah was himself knocked down in the same manner; but a faithful eunuch who attended him, raised him from the ground in his arms, bound up his head in his handkerchief, and enabled him to climb to the summit of the precipice, where he hoped still to rally some few of his followers; but they had all been overpowered and taken, with his wife and his children. One female attendant and the eunuch were the only persons who reached the summit of the hill with him. Darkness came on, they plunged into the thickest of the forest, and were never after seen! The sword and dagger of the prince were afterwards found in the forest, and it is supposed that all three were destroyed by wild beasts. The chief of the Dutch factory, in a letter which Bernier himself saw, declared, that the body of the prince had been found among the slain; and this was confirmed to Bernier by some who were in the action; but others, who were there also, and whose testimony he seems to have valued more, declared that he escaped from the action in the manner above related, and was never afterwards seen.

His wife and children were taken back to Aracan, where they were all thrown into prison, and treated with great harshness, till the eldest daughter consented to become the wife of the Rajah, when they were indulged with more liberty. Zeenoddeen, however, managed to get around him some desperate characters of his own faith, who prevailed upon the

Mahomedans of the country to join them in another conspiracy. On the very day the attack was to have been made on the palace, one of the conspirators, in a fit of intoxication, fancying himself all-sufficient for the purpose, fell to some hours before the signal was to have been given. The guards got ready, and the conspirators were all secured before they could begin to act in concert. The Rajah became so exasperated by this second attempt, that he determined to guard against all dangers from the same source by exterminating the whole family save the daughter he had married. Zeenoddeen and his two young brothers had their heads cut off with rude axes; and the widow of Shoojah, with her two young daughters, were mured up in walls of masonry, where they perished miserably of hunger.* For many years after, the capital of Delhi was often agitated with rumours of Shoojah's being still alive. At one time he was in strong force with the kings of Golconda and Beejapore, ready to march towards Delhi. At another time, he had been seen passing the coast of Malabar, in sight of Soorat, with two ships bearing the red flag of Pegu, or Siam. At another, he had been seen at the court of Persia on his return from Constantinople; and was now actu-

* Tavernier says, "That the daughter who had been married to the Rajah himself, was included in the general massacre, though pregnant at the time." Bernier says, she was spared, and he is perhaps the better authority.

ally marching at the head of an immense army through Candahar to Cabool. Ourungzebe used facetiously to say, "That his good brother the Sultan Shoojah had become the most indefatigable of pilgrims!"

CHAPTER XI

SECOND DEFEAT AND DEATH OF DARA,
OF HIS TWO SONS.

DARA, after Ourungzebe had giv
on the Indus at Mooltan, passed d
of that river to the strong fortress
lies on a small island in the mid
This fortress he confided to his fai
eunuch, and he left with him for i
body of Mahomedan infantry, wi
artillerymen and engineers. Th
tirely confided in, and they deserv
It had been his undisguised intenti
peans when he attained the thr
station among the aristocracy,
always been one exclusively of
ledge of this intention tend
anything else to his ruin. It
of all bigoted Mahomedans
brother's pretence of t
fence of the religion

become endangered by Dara's obvious preference of the Hindoos and Christians.* Men always like to be persuaded, that in serving themselves in the way they like best, they are serving their God in the way most pleasing to him, and that the object most suitable to their interests and inclinations, is the one most consonant to his will: this sanctifies all manner of means in the pursuit, and relieves the mind from all disagreeable scruples in the use of the very worst and from much of the fear and uneasiness it would otherwise suffer in its progress towards the attainment. In this fortress of Bukur, he deposited the greater part of his treasure, and having rested and refreshed his family and followers a few days, he set out for Tatta, another fortress situated on the right bank of the river Indus. He was still closely pursued by a division of the army under Bahadur Khan; and obliged to move from Tatta towards Ahmedabad, the capital of Gozerat. He had still about him two thousand faithful followers when the enemy gave up the pursuit at Tatta. Some returned to the siege of Bukur; while the others, under peremptory orders from Ourungzebe, hastened back to reinforce the army which was about to march towards Bengal

* Dara had written a book trying to reconcile the Mahomedan with the Hindoo faith, in the hope of thereby making the Mussulmans less intolerant. This book he called the union of the two oceans. The learned Abdool Fuzul had before him, in the reign of Akber, tried in the same manner to show that the Hindoo religion was in reality a pure system of Deism.

under his personal command against his brother the Sultan Shoojah.

Dara, with all that still remained faithful to him in his adversities, passed from Tatta over a most inhospitable country with almost incredible speed; and at last reached Ahmedabad. The governor of this city was Shah Newaz Khan, who had one daughter married to Ourungzebe, a second to Shoojah, and a third to Moorad, his brothers; Moorad had left his wife with her father when he set out on his enterprise against Dara, and confided the government of the province of Gozerat and that of its capital to him. They had heard of the imprisonment of this prince; and in the hope that it might be the means of his release, his wifé now prevailed upon her father to espouse the cause of the unfortunate Dara, who showed him letters that he had received from the Rajah Jeswunt Sing, and other powerful chiefs, assuring him that he had only to show himself once more at the head of a well-organized force, to have round him all the Hindoo chiefs, who had nothing to hope from the intolerant bigotry of his brother. Dara got ten lacks of rupees from Shah Newaz Khan. He seized upon the commercial city of Soorat, and got a further supply, and from the militia of the country whom Shah Newaz brought over to his interest, he collected together twenty thousand horse. When Ourungzebe heard that his brother Dara had reached Ahmedabad in safety, he was extremely surprised and embarrassed; but deeming the case of

Shoojah, who had by this time passed Allahabad on his way to the capital, more pressing, he marched against him with all his available forces first, and crushed him as above related. Jeswunt Sing had been in correspondence with Dara; and in the action with the other two contending brothers at Kujwa, he did all he could to cause the ruin of Ourungzebe, sure of a large immediate booty, and hardly less so of being able to give Dara the victory over the vanquished of the two—if he could, as he retired through Agra, rescue from prison the old Emperor Shah Jehan, and put him at the head of his army.

In his letters he urged Dara to hasten his march at the head of the best force he could muster, that they might be ready to meet his rival, the victor, before he could recover from the loss he must sustain in the conflict with the other. Ourungzebe's unexpected victory, and sudden movement upon Agra after Jeswunt Sing, disconcerted the plans of this chief for the release of the Emperor; and he was obliged to retreat precipitately upon his own capital. He had gone out several marches to meet Dara, when he received letters from his friend Jysing, written at the desire of Ourungzebe, urging him not to risk the welfare and existence of his family in the support of a ruined cause; but to take advantage of the present occasion, to secure the pardon of the victor for all his past transgressions. "By deserting Dara," said Jysing, "and joining me in support of the cause of Ourungzebe, which, it is clear from so many

under his personal command against his brother the Sultan Shoojah.

Dara, with all that still remained faithful to him in his adversities, passed from Tatta over a most inhospitable country with almost incredible speed; and at last reached Ahmedabad. The governor of this city was Shah Newaz Khan, who had one daughter married to Ourungzebe, a second to Shoojah, and a third to Moorad, his brothers; Moorad had left his wife with her father when he set out on his enterprise against Dara, and confided the government of the province of Gozerat and that of its capital to him. They had heard of the imprisonment of this prince; and in the hope that it might be the means of his release, his wifé now prevailed upon her father to espouse the cause of the unfortunate Dara, who showed him letters that he had received from the Rajah Jeswunt Sing, and other powerful chiefs, assuring him that he had only to show himself once more at the head of a well-organized force, to have round him all the Hindoo chiefs, who had nothing to hope from the intolerant bigotry of his brother. Dara got ten lacks of rupees from Shah Newaz Khan. He seized upon the commercial city of Soorat, and got a further supply, and from the militia of the country whom Shah Newaz brought over to his interest, he collected together twenty thousand horse. When Ourungzebe heard that his brother Dara had reached Ahmedabad in safety, he was extremely surprised and embarrassed; but deeming the case of

Shoojah, who had by this time passed Allahabad on his way to the capital, more pressing, he marched against him with all his available forces first, and crushed him as above related. Jeswunt Sing had been in correspondence with Dara; and in the action with the other two contending brothers at Kujwa, he did all he could to cause the ruin of Ourungzebe, sure of a large immediate booty, and hardly less so of being able to give Dara the victory over the vanquished of the two—if he could, as he retired through Agra, rescue from prison the old Emperor Shah Jehan, and put him at the head of his army.

In his letters he urged Dara to hasten his march at the head of the best force he could muster, that they might be ready to meet his rival, the victor, before he could recover from the loss he must sustain in the conflict with the other. Ourungzebe's unexpected victory, and sudden movement upon Agra after Jeswunt Sing, disconcerted the plans of this chief for the release of the Emperor; and he was obliged to retreat precipitately upon his own capital. He had gone out several marches to meet Dara, when he received letters from his friend Jysing, written at the desire of Ourungzebe, urging him not to risk the welfare and existence of his family in the support of a ruined cause; but to take advantage of the present occasion, to secure the pardon of the victor for all his past transgressions. "By deserting Dara," said Jysing, "and joining me in support of the cause of Ourungzebe, which, it is clear from so many

manifest interpositions, has been adopted by Providence,* you will not only save your own house from impending ruin, but avert ruin from all the Hindoo principalities in the country; for if many of these princes, under the influence of your example, should flock round the standard of Dara, Ourungzebe will become exasperated, and wreak his vengeance upon us all. If, on the contrary, you quit the cause of the man whom Providence has so manifestly forsaken, Ourungzebe promises to forgive you all that has passed, permit you freely to enjoy your large estates, and all the plunder you obtained from his camp at Kujwa; and to confer upon you the government of Gozerat, which, lying close upon your own hereditary dominions, cannot fail to be as agreeable as honourable to you—and for the fulfilment of this promise, I most solemnly pledge myself. You have only to remain neutral in the approaching contest, for the Emperor, (for so Ourungzebe was now styled,) has no wish to employ your arms against his brother." Jeswunt Sing yielded to these persuasions, and retired just as Dara, relying entirely upon his cordial support and co-operation, advanced from Gozerat towards Delhi with Shah Newaz Khan, and all the troops he had been able to collect.

Dara had made thirty-five marches from Ahmedabad, and was only thirty miles from Joudpore, the

* Shah Jehan is reported to have said about this time, "*I* wished Dara to succeed me—the *army* Shoojah—the *people* Moorad; but the Deity seems to have wished Ourungzebe."

capital of Jeswunt Sing, when he heard of his defection; and it was now too late to retrace his steps with any chance of keeping his army together and in spirits. He sent his young son, Sipeher Shekoh, to Jeswunt Sing to urge him on; but in vain. He had before sent their common friend Doodeechund, a a very able diplomatist. Jeswunt promised everything, but it was clear that he intended to do nothing. The hot weather was about to set in; and the roads over which he would have to pass in his retreat, would be found devoid of water, while they had, by his advance, been exhausted of supplies of provisions. These roads passed through the territories of the Rajpoot chiefs, who had now so basely deserted him; and they would not fail to take advantage of his retreat before the armies of his brother, who was advancing rapidly from the capital, and harass him with continual attacks for the sake of plunder. To attempt to retreat under so many disadvantages would be to abandon himself to inevitable ruin—to advance were at least to put himself in the way of profiting by any accident that the chances of war might produce in his favour. "He had once been near his brother in battle! might not Providence place him near him again, and give him the opportunity to avenge all his own and his father's wrongs; and to efface from his mind the bitter recollection of his errors and follies at Sureenugur?" He determined to continue his march upon Delhi; but on reaching Ajmere, he intrenched himself in a strong

position between two hills, in the beginning of March, 1659.

Several unsuccessful attempts were made by Ourungzebe to carry his position. At last Dara is said to have tried to contend with Ourungzebe at his own game, and to have invited Jysing to join him. This chief promised to quit the camp at a certain hour, and make off with all his followers to his lines, if he would have the gates open to receive them; that they might not suffer from the artillery of Ourungzebe, which would be sure to play upon his rear.* At the same time Jysing's cavalry were seen making at full speed for the lines with the artillery of Ourungzebe playing upon them from behind, and the whole camp apparently in pursuit of the fugitives. The gates were thrown open, and the prince and his cavalry received with shouts of joy! They had, however, no sooner got inside the entrenchments than they turned their swords upon the garrison; and it was now discovered, that the artillery and all the rest of Ourungzebe's troops, which had seemed to be attacking the fugitives in the rear, were in reality following up to support their assault, and passing in through the gates, of which they had made them-

* The time appointed was during an attack that was about to be made by some Rajpoot infantry under Rajah Roopsing, supported by the Moguls, upon the Pohkur Puharee hill, which overlooked Dara's position. The attack was made with great gallantry, and the hill carried with great loss on both sides, on the 17th March, 1659.

selves master. Dara's troops were thrown into great confusion; and he would himself have been taken prisoner, had not Jysing advised him to fly from the field of battle with his wife and family, leaving all his baggage to divert the enemy from pursuit. It was not from any regard for Dara that he gave this advice, for he still remembered with feelings of implacable resentment, that Dara had once called him a *music-master;* but he knew, that if he laid violent hands upon the person of the prince, it would be one day remembered to his disadvantage, however it might for a time please and serve the purpose of the new Emperor. Shah Newaz Khan was killed in the action.*

Dara left the field with his wife, daughter, and youngest son, Sipeher Shekoh, followed by about two thousand soldiers, who resolved still to adhere to his fortunes. Without a tent or accommodations of any kind, he passed with his family and this small band of faithful followers, in the hottest season of the year, through the hottest country in the world, among people now everywhere hostile to him. The wild tribes, who occupy the hilly and woody tract by which his road was intersected, and live by plunder, pressed upon his flanks and rear, and robbed and

* Kafee Khan, who is a devoted admirer of Ourungzebe, and who hardly ever mentions Dara without some opprobrious epithet, makes no mention of the simultaneous attack of Jysing, or the attempt of Dara to corrupt him. Some other narrators of these events are equally silent upon this point.

murdered every person who ventured either by night or by day to go aside a few paces only from the main body; for the last few stages of this disastrous retreat, the roads were lined with the dead bodies of men, women, and children, who had been murdered by these savages, or had perished from hunger, thirst, or fatigue; and with the carcases of elephants, camels, bullocks, and horses, which had sunk under the labour and privations of such a march at such a season of the year. Three stages from Ahmedabad, he met the French physician Bernier, travelling from Surat to Delhi in a carriage drawn by three large bullocks; and requested him to attend him to that city, as he had no medical person with him, and his family and followers stood much in need of one.

On reaching the vicinity of Ahmedabad, the prince lodged in a miserable open caravanserai; and being still pressed by the savage murderers of the woods called Bheels, he made Bernier lodge in the same court with his family, and bring in his carriage, lest this should be taken from him, and he be killed in attempting to defend it. His wife, Nadira, who was the daughter of Purwez, the eldest brother of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and his daughter Juhanzebe, who had both been born and bred with tender care in the imperial palace, were now concealed behind a wretched screen tied to one of the wheels of Bernier's carriage. Dara sent word to the governor, to whom he had confided the city and fortress of

Ahmedabad during the absence of Shah Newaz Khan, that he should enter the city early the next morning, and hoped soon to be in condition again to take the field against his brother. This man had, during his absence, been brought over to the interests of Ourungzebe; and he sent back to say, that if he attempted to enter the city he would find the gates shut, and the people armed against him. This message was received as the day began to dawn; and when it was communicated to the ladies, their cries and sobs, and those of their female attendants, brought tears into the eyes of the French physician, and those of all the rest who were near enough to hear them.

"And now behold," says this physician, "all was in an unspeakable confusion. Every one looks upon his neighbour, and nobody knows what to do, or what will become with him. Soon after we saw Dara come forth half dead, now speaking to one, then to another, even to the meanest soldier! He seeth all astonished, and ready to abandon him. What counsel? Whither can he go? He must be-gone instantly. You may judge of the extremity he must needs be in by this small accident I am going to mention. Of these great oxen of Gozerat, which I had for my chariot, one died the night before, another was dying, and the third was tired out, for we had been forced to march for three days together almost night and day, in an intolerable heat and dust. Whatever Dara could say or command, whether he alleged

murdered every person who ventured either by night or by day to go aside a few paces only from the main body; for the last few stages of this disastrous retreat, the roads were lined with the dead bodies of men, women, and children, who had been murdered by these savages, or had perished from hunger, thirst, or fatigue; and with the carcases of elephants, camels, bullocks, and horses, which had sunk under the labour and privations of such a march at such a season of the year. Three stages from Ahmedabad, he met the French physician Bernier, travelling from Surat to Delhi in a carriage drawn by three large bullocks; and requested him to attend him to that city, as he had no medical person with him, and his family and followers stood much in need of one.

On reaching the vicinity of Ahmedabad, the prince lodged in a miserable open caravanserai; and being still pressed by the savage murderers of the woods called Bheels, he made Bernier lodge in the same court with his family, and bring in his carriage, lest this should be taken from him, and he be killed in attempting to defend it. His wife, Nadira, who was the daughter of Purwez, the eldest brother of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and his daughter Juhanzebe, who had both been born and bred with tender care in the imperial palace, were now concealed behind a wretched screen tied to one of the wheels of Bernier's carriage. Dara sent word to the governor, to whom he had confided the city and fortress of

Ahmedabad during the absence of Shah Newaz Khan, that he should enter the city early the next morning, and hoped soon to be in condition again to take the field against his brother. This man had, during his absence, been brought over to the interests of Ourungzebe; and he sent back to say, that if he attempted to enter the city he would find the gates shut, and the people armed against him. This message was received as the day began to dawn; and when it was communicated to the ladies, their cries and sobs, and those of their female attendants, brought tears into the eyes of the French physician, and those of all the rest who were near enough to hear them.

"And now behold," says this physician, "all was in an unspeakable confusion. Every one looks upon his neighbour, and nobody knows what to do, or what will become with him. Soon after we saw Dara come forth half dead, now speaking to one, then to another, even to the meanest soldier! He seeth all astonished, and ready to abandon him. What counsel? Whither can he go? He must be-gone instantly. You may judge of the extremity he must needs be in by this small accident I am going to mention. Of these great oxen of Gozerat, which I had for my chariot, one died the night before, another was dying, and the third was tired out, for we had been forced to march for three days together almost night and day, in an intolerable heat and dust. Whatever Dara could say or command, whether he alleged

it was for himself or for one of the ladies who had been hurt, or for me, he could not possibly procure for me, whether ox, or camel, or horse, so that he was obliged, to my good fortune, to leave me there! I saw him march away, and that with tears in his eyes, accompanied by four or five hundred cavaliers at most, and with two elephants that were said to be laden with gold and silver."

Dara passed into Kutch, where he was at first received with hospitality by the Rajah; but this chief was soon brought over to the interest of Ourungzebe by letters from Jysing; and Dara, perceiving the altered tone of his voice towards him, set out for the fortress of Bukur, which, under his faithful friend the eunuch, still held out against the army under Bahadur Khan. In his passage through the dreary sandy deserts that lay between Kutch and Bukur, he lost the greater part of his remaining followers and domestics; and in despair of being able to raise the siege, or render any assistance to the besieged, he proposed to strike off at once through the Bholan Pass and Candahar to Persia; but his wife, still proud in her adversity, said, "that she would rather perish by poison than run the risk of being, with the daughter, made the slaves of the *heretical* sovereign of Persia."*

* The Persians are all of the sect of Alee, or Sheeas. The imperial family of Delhi are of the sect of Osman, or Somnees. Each thinks the other destined to the infernal regions. We sometimes see an European gentleman, who is married to a Ma-

Dara then resolved to seek assistance from Jehan Khan, a Mahomedan chief of a small territory, in his way to Bukur, whose life he had twice saved. He had been twice sentenced to death for treason and rebellion, and pardoned by the Emperor at the earnest solicitation of Dara, who, with his usual want of discrimination, had conceived a liking for him. He resolved to ask his aid to raise the siege of Bukur, from which he thought he should be able to take his treasure and troops—pass through Candahar into Cabool, and joined by Mohubbut, the governor of that province, and supported by the Affghans and Uzbecks, be once more able to meet his brother in the field. His wife strongly urged him to attempt the passage to Cabool, without trusting to the gratitude of a convicted rebel and traitor, or attempting to raise the siege of Bukur, arguing that such an attempt, with the means at his command, could be of no advantage whatever to the besieged, while it would deprive him of the only chance now left him of escape; that if he crossed the Indus, left Bukur to the right, and passed into Candahar, he might be sure that Bahadur Khan, who, by the sagacity and

homedan lady, bargain that the daughters shall all become Mahomedans, that they may marry respectable Mahomedans, and the sons all Christians—the mother of course satisfied that she is sending her sons, and the father that he is sending his daughters, to the same quarters. Protestants and Roman Catholics often, I fear, make the same bargains with the same persuasions.

vigilance of the eunuch, was every day alarmed with the reports of the large force he was bringing up to raise the siege, would be afraid to move himself, or detach any part of his force after them. Dara, however, determined to confide in the gratitude of this traitor, and proceeded to the capital of Jehan Khan, who received him with great demonstrations of joy and gratitude, supposing that he had still a strong force coming up in his rear.

When he found that he had not more than two or three hundred followers, he determined to make the most of the occasion—seize upon all the treasures and valuables he had left, and make him over to the force before Bukur. Having collected all the armed men he could, he secured Dara, threw him into prison, and seized upon his property, and the jewels of his wife and daughter.* Dara's wife, Nadira, rather than be exposed to the indignities which she now thought inevitable, took the poison, which she always carried about her, and died in the arms of her husband.† Dara and his young son were bound in fetters, and carried to Bukur on the back of an ele-

* Tavernier says that young Sipeher Shekoh was outside the house when seized, and that he killed three men with his bow and arrows before he was secured.

† Nadira was the daughter of Purwez, the elder brother of Shah Jehan. Her daughter was adopted by Jehanara, and ten years after married to Ourungzebe's son, Mahomed Azum. She lived to see him hunted down thirty years after, on the death of Ourungzebe, in the same manner that her father had been. Her name was Juhan Zebe, ornament of the world.

phant, while his daughter was conveyed in a litter. He was escorted by the traitor, Jehan Khan, who was commanded by Bahadur Khan to take him on to Delhi. The sequel of poor Dara's history cannot be better told than by Bernier, who was at Delhi, on the staff of one of the chiefs, Danishmund Khan, when the prince arrived.

"When he was at the gates of Delhi, it was deliberated by Ourungzebe, whether he should be made to pass through the midst of the city, or be carried thence direct to Gwalior. Many did advise that was by no means to be done; that some disorder might arise; that some might come to save him; and besides that, it would be a great dishonour to the family royal. Others maintained the contrary, viz. that it was absolutely necessary he should pass through the town to astonish the world, and to show the absolute power of Ourungzebe, and to disabuse the people, that might still doubt whether it were himself, as, indeed, many noblemen did doubt; and to take away all hopes from those who still preserved some affection for him. The opinion of these last was followed; he was put on an elephant, his son, Sipeher Shekoh, at his side; and behind him was placed Bahadur Khan, as an executioner.* This was none of those brave elephants of Ceylon or Pegu, which he was wont to ride on, with gilt harness and embroidered covers, and seats with canopies, very

* This was not the Bahadur Khan that commanded the troops against Bukur.

handsomely painted and gilt, to defend themselves from the sun. It was an old caitiff animal, very dirty and nasty, with an old torn cover, and a pitiful seat, all open! There was no more seen about him that necklace of big pearls which those princes are wont to wear, nor those rich turbans and vests embroidered. All his dress was a vest of coarse linen, all dirty, and a turban of the same, with a wretched scarf of a Kashmere over his head, like a varlet; his son, Sipeher Shekoh, being in the same equipage. In this miserable posture he was made to enter into the town, and to pass through the greatest merchant streets, to the end that all the people might see him, and entertain no doubt any more whether it were he.

"As for me, I fancied we went to see some strange massacre, and was astonished at the boldness of making him thus pass through the town, and that the more, because I knew that he was very ill guarded; neither was I ignorant that he was very much beloved by the lower sort of people, who at that time exclaimed highly against the cruelty and tyranny of Ourungzebe, as one that kept his father in prison, as also his son, Sultan Mahomed, and his brother, Moorad Buksh. I was well prepared for it, and with a good horse, and two good men, I went, together with two others of my friends, to place myself in the greatest street where he was to pass. But not one man had the boldness to draw his sword, only there were some of the Faqueers, and with them

some poor people, who seeing that infamous Jehan Khan ride by his side, began to rail and throw stones at him, and to call him traitor. All the shops were ready to break for the crowd of spectators, that wept bitterly; and there was heard nothing but loud cries and lamentations, invectives, and curses, heapen upon Jehan Khan. In a word, men and women, great and small, (such is the tenderness of the hearts of the Indians,) were ready to melt into tears for compassion; but not one there was that dared stir to rescue him! Now, after he had thus passed through the town, he was put into a garden called Hydrabad.

"They were not wanting to tell Ourungzebe how the people at this sight had lamented Dara, and cursed the Pethan that had delivered him; and how the same was in danger to have been stoned to death; as also that there had been a great apprehension of some sedition and mischief. Hereupon another council was held, whether he should indeed be carried to Gwalior, as had been concluded before, or whether it were not more expedient to put him to death without more ado? Some were of opinion that he should go to Gwalior with a strong guard, and that would be enough; Danishmund Khan, though Dara's old enemy, insisting much upon that. But Roshunara Begum, in pursuance of her hatred against this brother of her's, pushed Ourungzebe to make him away, without running the danger there was of sending him to Gwalior, as also did all his old ene-

mies, Khuleeloolah Khan, and Shaesta Khan, and especially a certain flatterer, a physician, who had fled out of Persia, first called Hakim Daood, and afterwards, being become a great noble, named Tukurrub Khan. This villain boldly rose up in full assembly, and cried out that 'it was expedient for the safety of the state to put him to death immediately, and that the rather because he was no *true Mussulman*; that long since he had turned unbeliever, without religion, and that he would charge the sin of it upon his own head!' Of which imprecation he soon after felt the smart, for within a short time he fell into disgrace, and was treated like an infamous fellow, and died miserably. But Ourungzebe, carried away by these instances and motives, commanded that he should be put to death; and that Sipeher Shekoh, his son, should be sent to Gwalior.

"The charge of this great tragical execution was given to a certain slave, called Nazir,* that had been bred by Shah Jehan, and was known to have been formerly ill-treated by Dara. This executioner, accompanied by three or four parricides more, went to Dara, who was then himself dressing some lentils with Sipeher Shekoh his son. He no sooner saw Nazir, than he cried out to Sipeher Shekoh, 'My dear son, behold those that come to kill us!' laying hold, at the same time, of the small knife, which was

* What became of this wretch Nazir, Bernier could never discover. He appears to have been quietly made away with.

all the arms now left him. One of these butchers immediately fell upon Sipeher Shekoh, the others upon the arms and legs of Dara, throwing him to the ground, and holding him under, till Nazir cut his throat. His head was forthwith carried to the fortress to Ourungzebe, who presently commanded it to be put in a dish, and that water should be fetched; which, when brought, he wiped it off with a handkerchief; and after he had caused the face to be washed clean, and the blood done away, and was fully satisfied that it was the head of Dara, he *fell a weeping*, and said these words, 'Ah bed bukht! O unfortunate man! Take it away, and bury it in the sepulchre of Hoomaeon, his great-grandfather.'

"At night the daughter of Dara was brought into the seraglio, and afterwards sent to Shah Jehan and Jehanara Begum, who asked her of Ourungzebe.* Concerning Dara's wife, she had ended her days before at Lahore; she had poisoned herself, foreseeing the extremities which she was falling into, together with her husband. Sipeher Shekoh was sent to Gwalior. Sipeher Shekoh was taken out of prison in the fifteenth year of Ourungzebe's reign; and in the sixteenth of his reign he was married to Ourungzebe's daughter, Zebonnissa; and after a few days Jehan Khan was sent for to come before Ourungzebe

* Tavernier says that the daughter of Dara was afterwards made over to Ourungzebe by Shah Jehan. (Part II. book ii.) She was adopted by Jehanara Begum, and married to Mahomed Azum, as above stated.

in the assembly. To him were given some presents, and so he was sent away; but being near his lands, he was rewarded according to his deserts, being murdered in a wood. This barbarous man, not knowing, or not considering, that if kings do sometimes permit such actions for their interest, yet they abhor them, and sooner or later avenge them!"

No place could be more resolutely defended than Bukur was. Dara was only a few stages from it when he resolved to throw himself upon the protection of Jehan Khan. It was the opinion of all the Europeans in the place, that had he gone he would have entered the fortress without molestation, and raised the siege; to such a state of despair, and dread of his approach, had the besiegers been reduced by the skill and vigilance of the governor. Orders for the surrender of this fortress were extorted from Dara while a prisoner, and the governor surrendered it on condition that the garrison should be permitted to proceed to their homes with their property unmolested. He proceeded to Lahore, and there he and all his faithful followers were treacheronsly murdered, and cut to pieces by the governor, Khuleeloolah Khan, (the same who had betrayed Dara in the battle of Sureenugur,) by orders, it was said, from Ourungzebe, who had heard that they intended to march to Gwalior and rescue the young Sipeher Shekoh from prison. The Europeans had all gone to Delhi, to seek service at the court of the new Emperor.

Jysing now wrote pressing letters to the Rajah of Sureenugur, urging him to surrender up the eldest son of Dara. Many of the neighbouring chiefs were at the same time invited to make war upon him by the promise of a grant of his dominions by the Emperor. At last he was persuaded to give him up for a grant of the Dehra Doon, or the valley which lies between his little Sewalik range of hills and the great chain of the Himmalah mountains, with the river Ganges flowing across it at the eastern, and the river Jumna, seventy miles distant, at the western extremity. Sooleeman Shekoh got intimation of this bargain, and attempted to make his escape across the snowy range into Thibet, but was closely pursued by the son of the Rajah, taken, and made over to the emissaries from Delhi.* On reaching the capital, he was confined in the small fortress of Suleengurh, where Moorad had remained imprisoned till sent to Gwalior. Ourungzebe commanded that he should be brought before him in open court, before all the assembled nobles, that no person might hereafter pretend that the real prince had not been secured. At the gate leading to the great hall of audience, the fetters, which were of silver gilt, were removed from his feet; but his handcuffs, of the same material, were left on.†

* Tavernier says all his followers were killed in defending him, and that he himself killed nine of the assailants before he was taken. Bernier makes no mention of it.

† Prethee Sing was the name of the hill Zemindar, of Sureo-

"When this proper young man," says the same physician, "so handsome and gallant, was seen to enter, there was a good number of the nobles that could not hold their tears; and, as I was informed, all the great ladies of the court, that had leave to see him come in, fell a weeping. Ourungzebe, who appeared himself to be touched at his misfortunes, began to speak very kindly to him, and to comfort him, telling him that he should fear nothing, that no hurt should be done to him; on the contrary, that he should be well treated, and therefore be of good courage; that he had caused his father to be put to death for no other reason than that he was turned *unbeliever*, and a man *without religion!* Whereupon this young prince returned to him the salaam, and blessed him, abasing his hands to the earth, and lifting them, as well as he could, to his head, after the custom of the country; and told him with resolution enough, that if he were to drink the *poust,* he entreated him, that he might die presently, being very willing to submit to his fate. But Ourungzebe promised him faithfully, that he should not drink of it; that he should rest satisfied as to that, and not entertain any sad thought about it. This being said,

nugur, who seized Sooleeman Shekoh, and he was escorted to Delhi by his son Ram Sing. He got the title of Rajah for this service, and a gift of the valley of the Dehra Doon, which the family held up to the beginning of this century, when it was taken from them by the Gorkhas, from whom we took it in 1815.

he once more repeated the salaam; and after they had asked him several questions, in the name of Ourungzebe, touching that elephant which was *charged with rupees of gold, taken from him when* he went to Sureenugur, he was sent to Gwalior to the rest. This poust is nothing else but poppy expressed and infused a night in water. And it is that potion which those that are kept at Gwalior are commonly made to drink—I mean those princes, whose heads they think it not fit to cut off. This is the first thing that is brought them in the morning, and they have nothing given them to eat till they have drunk a great cupful of it; they would rather let them starve. This emaciates them exceedingly, and maketh them die insensibly, they losing little by little their understanding, and growing torpid and senseless. And by this very means *it is said* that Sipeher Shekoh, Moorad Buksh, and Sooleeman Shekoh, were despatched."

This prince was sent to Gwalior on the 30th of January, 1661. It is inside the entrance door of the apartment where *Ourungzebe sat while he passed* the sentence upon his brother Dara, his own son Mahomed, and his nephews Sooleeman and Sipeher Shekoh, that his father, Shah Jehan, inscribed in black letters upon a slab of alabaster, "If there is a *paradise on earth*—it is this—it is this!" Afraid to leave Moorad Buksh to die by the slow operation of the *poust*, a widow was made to present a petition to Ourungzebe, charging him with having, while

in power, put her husband to death without trial; and claiming his execution by the Mahomedan law of retaliation! The case was referred to the chief justice, who denied her right, or disbelieved the ground of it. He was made to resign his office, and another more tractable was appointed. Moorad was sentenced to death, and executed in the fortress of Gwalior, where his tomb now stands by the side of that of his nephew. "I mind not being put to death," said he, "for that only shortens the duration of my misery here; but it is hard to be thus sent out of the world with a blighted reputation!"

Ten years after this, Dara's daughter, Jehanara, was married to Ourungzebe's third son, Mahomed Azum, with great pomp. Fifteen years after the death of Dara, Sipeher Shekoh, his youngest son, and Mahomed Sultan, Ourungzebe's eldest son, were brought from Gwalior, and confined in the fort of Suleengurh. Mahomed Sultan was united in marriage to the daughter of Moorad Buksh, who got a dowry of ten lacks of rupees. Sipeher Shekoh was united to a daughter of Ourungzebe, who got a dowry of four lacks of rupees. Sultan Eezud Buksh was taken from Gwalior at the same time, and married to another of the Emperor Ourungzebe's daughters. Mahomed Sultan got a pension of twelve thousand rupees a year, Sipeher Shekoh one of six thousand, and Eezud Buksh one of four thousand a year. They were never, I believe, let out of confinement.

Ourungzebe was not unmindful of the assistance he had received from his sister Roshunara, who was long treated with high honour in her splendid seclusion, but never suffered to have anything to say or do in public affairs.* Long before her death he became alienated from her on account of her ill-disguised amours. The princess Jehanara shared the captivity of her father, and remained with him till his death. During her seclusion with her father her time was chiefly occupied in writing the lives of the celebrated saints of the valley of Cashmere; and on his death, in 1666, she became reconciled to her brother Ourungzebe, who restored to her all the estates and governments she had enjoyed under her father, yielding a revenue of more than one million pounds sterling a year, and honoured her with the title of *Shah Begum*, or sovereign princess. At the first visit her brother paid her after their father's death, he found, spread out to be presented to him, all those jewels of immense value, which he had tried in vain to get from her and his father during his lifetime. "These," said she, "are all now yours, as the first surviving representative of the house of Tamerlane. What has made you so we must now try, if possible, to forget!"

"The truth is," says Tavernier, "she is a woman of prodigious parts, able herself to govern the whole empire; and had her father and her brother Dara

* She died in the fourteenth year of Ourungzebe's reign, six years after her father, who died in the eighth.

taken her counsel at the beginning of the war, Ourungzebe had certainly never been king."

This Ourungzebe knew; and being satisfied now that she felt her interest identified with his own, he paid her all honour, and often consulted her upon public affairs.

When Ourungzebe felt himself secure in his imperial throne, by the death or imprisonment, in the fortress of Gwalior, of all his brothers and their sons, he sent his second son, the Sultan Mouzzim, to his government of the Deccan, with limited powers and resources. Mohubbut received the government of Gozerat ostensibly, as a reward for his fidelity to his benefactor, Shah Jehan, but in reality for some valuable presents of Persian rarities he made to Roshunara, ere her brother had thought her services to him sufficiently repaid. Shaesta Khan was made governor and commander-in-chief, first in the Deccan, and afterwards in Bengal. Meer Khan got the government of Cabool, and Khuleeloolah Khan that of Lahore; Meer Baba that of Allahabad, and Lushkur Khan that of Behar. Danishmund Khan was made governor of Delhi, and Deeanut Khan of Cashmere. Nijabut Khan, who had done great service in the battles of Sureenugur and Kujwa, became overbearing, and got no government in consequence. Jeswunt Sing was sent to the Deccan as commandant of some forces under Shaesta Khan; but justly suspected of being in league with the enemy, the celebrated Sewajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire,

taken her counsel at the beginning of the war, Ourungzebe had certainly never been king."

This Ourungzebe knew; and being satisfied now that she felt her interest identified with his own, he paid her all honour, and often consulted her upon public affairs.

When Ourungzebe felt himself secure in his imperial throne, by the death or imprisonment, in the fortress of Gwalior, of all his brothers and their sons, he sent his second son, the Sultan Mouzzim, to his government of the Deccan, with limited powers and resources. Mohubbut received the government of Gozerat ostensibly, as a reward for his fidelity to his benefactor, Shah Jehan, but in reality for some valuable presents of Persian rarities he made to Roshunara, ere her brother had thought her services to him sufficiently repaid. Shaesta Khan was made governor and commander-in-chief, first in the Deccan, and afterwards in Bengal. Meer Khan got the government of Cabool, and Khuleeloolah Khan that of Lahore; Meer Baba that of Allahabad, and Lushkur Khan that of Behar. Danishmund Khan was made governor of Delhi, and Deeanut Khan of Cashmere. Nijabut Khan, who had done great service in the battles of Sureenugur and Kujwa, became overbearing, and got no government in consequence. Jeswunt Sing was sent to the Deccan as commandant of some forces under Shaesta Khan; but justly suspected of being in league with the enemy, the celebrated Sewajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire,

in his daring attack upon Shaesta Khan, he was recalled, and sent to his own estate in disgrace. Jysing brought Sewajee under subjection; and died at Berhaunpore, in the Deccan, leaving his large estates to his eldest son.

taken her counsel at the beginning of the war, Ourungzebe had certainly never been king."

This Ourungzebe knew; and being satisfied now that she felt her interest identified with his own, he paid her all honour, and often consulted her upon public affairs.

When Ourungzebe felt himself secure in his imperial throne, by the death or imprisonment, in the fortress of Gwalior, of all his brothers and their sons, he sent his second son, the Sultan Mouzzim, to his government of the Deccan, with limited powers and resources. Mohubbut received the government of Gozerat ostensibly, as a reward for his fidelity to his benefactor, Shah Jehan, but in reality for some valuable presents of Persian rarities he made to Roshunara, ere her brother had thought her services to him sufficiently repaid. Shaesta Khan was made governor and commander-in-chief, first in the Deccan, and afterwards in Bengal. Meer Khan got the government of Cabool, and Khuleeloolah Khan that of Lahore; Meer Baba that of Allahabad, and Lushkur Khan that of Behar. Danishmund Khan was made governor of Delhi, and Deeanut Khan of Cashmere. Nijabut Khan, who had done great service in the battles of Sureenugur and Kujwa, became overbearing, and got no government in consequence. Jeswunt Sing was sent to the Deccan as commandant of some forces under Shaesta Khan; but justly suspected of being in league with the enemy, the celebrated Sewajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire,

in his daring attack upon Shaesta Khan, he was recalled, and sent to his own estate in disgrace. Jysing brought Sewajee under subjection; and died at Berhaunpore, in the Deccan, leaving his large estates to his eldest son.

taken her counsel at the beginning of the war, Ourungzebe had certainly never been king."

This Ourungzebe knew; and being satisfied now that she felt her interest identified with his own, he paid her all honour, and often consulted her upon public affairs.

When Ourungzebe felt himself secure in his imperial throne, by the death or imprisonment, in the fortress of Gwalior, of all his brothers and their sons, he sent his second son, the Sultan Mouzzim, to his government of the Deccan, with limited powers and resources. Mohubbut received the government of Gozerat ostensibly, as a reward for his fidelity to his benefactor, Shah Jehan, but in reality for some valuable presents of Persian rarities he made to Roshunara, ere her brother had thought her services to him sufficiently repaid. Shaesta Khan was made governor and commander-in-chief, first in the Deccan, and afterwards in Bengal. Meer Khan got the government of Cabool, and Khuleeloolah Khan that of Lahore; Meer Baba that of Allahabad, and Lushkur Khan that of Behar. Danishmund Khan was made governor of Delhi, and Deeanut Khan of Cashmere. Nijabut Khan, who had done great service in the battles of Sureenugur and Kujwa, became overbearing, and got no government in consequence. Jeswunt Sing was sent to the Deccan as commandant of some forces under Shaesta Khan; but justly suspected of being in league with the enemy, the celebrated Sewajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire,

5

in his daring attack upon Shaesta Khan, he was recalled, and sent to his own estate in disgrace. Jysing brought Sewajee under subjection; and died at Berhaunpore, in the Deccan, leaving his large estates to his eldest son.

CHAPTER XLVI.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF AMEER JUMLA.

Ameer Jumla succeeded the Sultan Shoojah in the government of Bengal, which he wished to form into an independent kingdom for himself. As a preparatory step, he entreated the Emperor to allow his wife and children to repair to him, that he might enjoy the pleasure of their society in his old age! Ourungzebe saw through his designs; and, to prevent any further attempt to carry them into execution, and at the same time to keep on good terms with so valuable a friend and servant, he sent him his wife and daughters, but retained at court his only son, in whom he knew Jumla rested all his hopes of founding a dynasty. He appointed Jumla himself to the dignity of Ameer of Omura, the highest in the state next his own, with permission to hold the distant viceroyalty of Bengal; and he made his son paymaster general, the third office in the state, but one that made it imperative on the holder to reside at the

imperial court. Jumla saw the Emperor's object in these appointments; and at his suggestion undertook the conquest of Assam, as a preliminary step to that of China.

His armies, elate with their recent victories and conquests, found no difficulty, under such a leader, in the conquest of this country. They penetrated to the capital, Goorgon, and took it; but being obliged to canton during the season of the rains at Muthurapore, in the midst of plains covered with water, a great part of the army perished from disease; and the enemy, recovering spirit, drove in all the detachments, and reoccupied the country. They were driven back to their mountains with great slaughter, when Ameer Jumla again took the field in December; and on the 17th of January, 1662, a peace was concluded at the foot of the Namroot mountains. A part of the stipulated tribute or ransom* was paid in advance, and hostages were given for the payment of the balance.†

* The Rajah of Asham, or Assam, was Jydhuj Sing, and the ostensible cause of the invasion was his having marched an army into the territory of Kamroop, a dependency of the empire. The advance of tribute amounted to twenty thousand tolas of gold, one hundred and eight thousand tolas of silver, twenty elephants for the Emperor, fifteen for Ameer Jumla, and five for Duleer Khan, through whom the negociations were conducted.

† The hostages given on this occasion were a daughter of the Rajah, a daughter of one of his nearest relations, and four sons of his principal chiefs and clansmen.

On the 22nd of January, 1662, Ameer Jumla set out with the remnants of his army on his return; and on the 3rd of February he reached Lukhoopore. He passed through Kujalee and Pandoo, near Gonputlee, whence he detached a force, under Rusheed Khan, to Kamroop; and another, under Asker Khan, to Kooch Behar; and proceeded towards Khizerpore. He had been long ill, and within four miles of that place he died, on the 12th of April, 1662. The Emperor, in addressing his son at the first public audience, after the event had been announced, said—"You, Mahomed Ameer Khan, have lost an excellent father; and I the greatest, but, at the same time, the most dangerous friend I ever had. Be assured that you and your sisters shall always find in me a father." They did so: he continued him in his office, augmented his pension, and left them the entire disposal of all their father's immense wealth. With this wealth they retired to the district of Massulipatam, on the Coromandel coast, in the kingdom of Golconda, where the son lived to a good old age, much respected.

The following is a sketch of the character of Ameer Jumla, while in the service of the king of Golconda, by Tavernier, who saw him often.

"Meer Goolam was a person of great wit, and no less understanding in military than in state affairs. I had occasion to speak with him several times; and I have no less admired his justice than his dispatch to all people that had to do with him; while he gave

out several dispatches at the same time, as if he had but one entire business in hand. (Part II. book i. chap. x.) The 14th of September, 1648, we went to take our leaves of the Nawab, and to know what he had further to say to us, concerning the commodities we had then shown him. But then he told us he was busy at present, with the examination of certain offenders which are brought before him. For it is the custom of that country never to put a man in prison, but as soon as the offender is taken, he is examined, and sentence is pronounced upon him according to his crime, which is immediately executed; or if the party taken be found innocent, he is as soon acquitted. And let the controversy be of whatever nature it will, it is immediately decided.

"The 15th in the morning we went to wait upon him again, and were immediately admitted into his tent, where he sat with his two secretaries by him. The Nawab was sitting, according to the custom of the country, barefoot, like one of our tailors, with a great number of papers sticking between his toes, and others between the fingers of his left hand, which papers he drew sometimes from between his fingers and sometimes from between his toes, and ordered what answers should be given to every one. After his secretaries had written the answers, he caused them to read them, and then took the letters and sealed them himself, giving some to foot messengers, others to horsemen—for you must know, that all those letters which are sent by foot-posts all over

India, go with more speed than those which are carried by horsemen. While we stayed with the Nawab, certain officers came to tell him, that they had brought certain offenders to the door of his tent. He was above half an hour before he returned them any answer, writing on, and giving instructions to his secretaries; but by-and-by, all of a sudden he commanded the offenders to be brought in, and after he had examined them and made them confess the crime of which they stood accused, he was above an hour before he said a word, still writing on, and employing his secretaries. In the mean while several of the officers of the army came to tender their respects to him in a very submissive manner, all whom he answered only with a nod. There was one of the offenders which were brought before him, had broken into a house, and had killed the mother and three children. He was condemned upon the spot to have his hands and feet cut off, and to be cast out into the highway, there to end his days in misery. Another had robbed upon the highway; for which the Nawab ordered his belly to be ripped up, and himself to be cast upon the dunghill. I know not what crimes the other two had committed, but both their heads were cut off. When we perceived him at a little leisure, we asked him whether he had any other commands to lay upon us, and whether he thought our commodities fitting to be shown to the king. He answered that we might go to Golconda, and that he would write to his son in our behalf

and that his letter would be there sooner than we. And in order to our journey, he ordered us sixteen horsemen to convey us, and to provide us necessaries upon the road." (Part II. book i. chap. xviii.)

CHAPTER XLVII.

REFLECTIONS ON THE PRECEDING HISTORY.

THE contest for the empire of India here described is very like that which preceded it, between the sons of Jehangeer, in which Shah Jehan succeeded in destroying all his brothers and nephews; and that which succeeded it, forty years after, in which Mouzzim, the second of the four sons of Ourungzebe, did the same;* and it may, like the rest of Indian history,

* On the death of Ourungzebe, which took place in the Deccan, on the 3rd of March, 1707, his son Azim marched at the head of the troops which he commanded in the Deccan, to meet Mouzzim, who was viceroy in Cabool. They met and fought near Agra. Azim was defeated and killed. The victor marched to meet his other brother, Kham Buksh, whom he killed near Hydrabad in the Deccan, and secured to himself the empire. On his death, which took place in 1713, his four sons contended in the same manner for the throne at the head of the armies of their respective viceroyalties. Moizoddeen, the most crafty, persuaded his two brothers, Rufee Oshan and Jehan Sheh, to unite their forces with his against their ambitious brother, Azeemoshan, whom they defeated and killed. Moizoddeen then destroyed his two allies!

teach us a few useful lessons. First, we perceive the advantages of the law of primogeniture, which accustoms people to consider the right of the eldest son as sacred, and the conduct of any man who attempts to violate it as criminal. Among Mahomedans, property, as well real as personal, is divided equally among the sons; and their Koran, which is their only civil and criminal, as well as religious code, makes no provision for the successions to *sovereignty*. The death of every sovereign is, in consequence, followed by a contest between his sons, unless they are overawed by some paramount power; and he who succeeds in this contest finds it necessary, for his own security, to put all his brothers and nephews to death, lest they should be rescued by factions, and made the cause of future civil wars. But sons who exercise the powers of viceroys, and command armies, cannot, where the succession is unsettled, wait patiently for the natural death of their father—delay may be dangerous. Circumstances which now seem more favourable to their views than to those of their brothers may alter; the military aristocracy around them depend upon the success of the chief they choose in the enterprise, and the army more upon plunder than regular pay; both may desert the cause of the more wary for that of the more daring; each is flattered into an overweening confidence in his own ability and good fortune; and all rush on to seize upon the throne yet filled by their wretched parent, who, in the history of his own crimes, now reads those of

his children. Gibbon has justly observed, (chap. vii.) "The superior prerogative of birth, when it has obtained the sanction of time and popular opinion, is the plainest and least invidious of all distinctions among mankind. The acknowledged right extinguishes the hopes of faction; and the conscious security disarms the cruelty of the monarch. To the firm establishment of this idea, we owe the peaceful succession and mild administration of European monarchies. To the defeat of it, we must attribute the frequent civil wars through which an Asiatic despot is obliged to cut his way to the throne of his fathers. Yet even in the East the sphere of contention is usually limited to the princes of the reigning house; and as soon as the more fortunate competitor has removed his brethren by the sword and the bowstring, he no longer entertains any jealousy of his meaner subjects."

Among Hindoos, both real and personal property is divided in the same manner, equally among the sons; but a principality is, among them, considered as an exception to this rule; and every large estate, within which the proprietor holds criminal jurisdiction, and maintains a military establishment, is considered a principality. In such estates the law of primogeniture is always rigidly enforced; and the death of the prince scarcely ever involves a contest for power and dominion among his sons. The feelings of the people, who are accustomed to consider the right of the eldest son to the succession as reli-

his children. Gibbon has justly observed, (chap. vii.) " The superior prerogative of birth, when it has obtained the sanction of time and popular opinion, is the plainest and least invidious of all distinctions among mankind. The acknowledged right extinguishes the hopes of faction; and the conscious security disarms the cruelty of the monarch. To the firm establishment of this idea, we owe the peaceful succession and mild administration of European monarchies. To the defeat of it, we must attribute the frequent civil wars through which an Asiatic despot is obliged to cut his way to the throne of his fathers. Yet even in the East the sphere of contention is usually limited to the princes of the reigning house; and as soon as the more fortunate competitor has removed his brethren by the sword and the bowstring, he no longer entertains any jealousy of his meaner subjects."

Among Hindoos, both real and personal property is divided in the same manner, equally among the sons; but a principality is, among them, considered as an exception to this rule; and every large estate, within which the proprietor holds criminal jurisdiction, and maintains a military establishment, is considered a principality. In such estates the law of primogeniture is always rigidly enforced; and the death of the prince scarcely ever involves a contest for power and dominion among his sons. The feelings of the people, who are accustomed to consider the right of the eldest son to the succession as reli-

giously sacred, would be greatly shocked at the attempt of any of his brothers to invade it. The younger brothers, never for a moment supposing they could be supported in such a sacrilegious attempt, feel for their eldest brother a reverence inferior only to that which they feel for their father; and the eldest brother, never supposing such attempts on their part as possible, feels towards them as towards his own children. All the members of such a family commonly live in the greatest harmony. In the laws, usages, and feelings of the people upon this subject, we had the means of preventing that eternal subdivision of landed property, which ever has been, and ever will be, the bane of everything that is great and good in India; but unhappily our rulers have never had the wisdom to avail themselves of them. In a great part of India the property, or the lease of a *village* held in farm under government, was considered as a *principality*, and subject strictly to the same laws of primogeniture—it was *a fief*, held under government on condition of either direct service, rendered to the state in war, in education, or charitable or religious duties, or of furnishing the means, in money or in kind, to provide for such service. In every part of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, the law of primogeniture in such leases was in force when we took possession and has been ever since preserved. The eldest of the sons that remain united with the father, at his death succeeds to the estate; and to the obligati

of maintaining all the widows and orphan children of those of his brothers who remained united to the parent stock up to their death, all his unmarried sisters, and above all, his mother. All the younger brothers aid him in the management, and are maintained by him till they wish to separate, when a division of the stock takes place, and is adjusted by the elders of the village. The member who thus separates from the parent stock, from that time forfeits for ever all claims to support from the possessor of the ancestral estate, either for himself, his widow, or his orphan children.

Next, it is obvious that no existing government in India could, in case of invasion or civil war, count upon the fidelity of their aristocracy either of land or of office. It is observed by Hume, in treating of the reign of King John, in England, "That men easily change sides in a civil war, especially where the power is founded upon an hereditary and independent authority, and is not derived from the opinion and favour of the people"—that is, upon the people collectively, or the nation; for the hereditary and independent authority of the English baron, in the time of King John, was founded upon the opinion and fidelity of only that portion of the people over which he ruled, in the same manner as that of the Hindoo chiefs of India in the time of Shah Jehan; but it was without reference either to the honesty of the cause he espoused, or to the opinion and feeling of the nation or empire generally regarding it. The Hindoo terri-

torial chiefs, like the feudal barons of the middle ages in Europe, employed all the revenues of their estates in the maintenance of military followers, upon whose fidelity they could entirely rely, whatever side they might themselves take in a civil war; and the more of these resources that were left at their disposal, the more impatient they became of the restraints which settled governments imposed upon them. Under such settled governments they felt, that they had an *arm* which they could not use; and the stronger that arm the stronger was their desire to use it in the subjugation of their neighbours. The reigning emperors tried to secure their fidelity by assigning to them posts of honour about their court, that required their personal attendance in all their pomp of pride; and by taking from each a daughter in marriage. If any one rebelled or neglected his duties, he was either crushed by the imperial forces, or put to the *ban of the empire;* and his territories were assigned to any one who would undertake to conquer them. Their attendance at our viceroyal court would be a sad encumbrance; and our Governor-general could not well conciliate them by matrimonial alliances, unless we were to alter a good deal in his favour our law against polygamy; nor would it be desirable to "let slip the dogs of war" once more throughout the land by adopting the plan of putting the refractory chiefs to the ban of the empire. Their troops would be of no use to us in the way they are organized and disciplined, even if we could

rely upon their fidelity in time of need; and this I do not think we ever can.

If it be the duty of all such territorial chiefs to contribute to the support of the public establishments of the paramount power by which they are secured in the possession of their estates, and defended from all external danger, as it most assuredly is, it is the duty of that power to take such contribution in money, or the means of maintaining establishments more suited to its purpose, than their rude militia can ever be; and thereby to impair the *powers* of that arm which they are so impatient to wield for their own aggrandizement, and to the prejudice of their neighbours; and to strengthen that of the paramount power by which the whole are kept in peace, harmony, and security. We give to India what India never had before our rule, and never could have without it, the assurance that there will always be at the head of the government a sensible ruler trained up to office in the best school in the world; and that the security of the rights, and the enforcement of the duties prescribed or defined by law, will not depend upon the will or caprice of individuals in power. These assurances the people of India now everywhere thoroughly understand, and appreciate. They see in the native states around them that the lucky accident of an able governor is too rare ever to be calculated upon; while all that the people have of property, office, or character, depends not only upon their governor,

but upon every change that he may make in his ministers.

The government of the Mahomedans was always essentially military, and the aristocracy was always one of military office. There was nothing else upon which an aristocracy could be formed. All high civil offices were combined with the military commands. The Emperor was the great proprietor of all the lands, and collected and distributed their rents through his own servants. Every Mussulman with his Koran in his hand was his own priest and his own lawyer; and the people were nowhere represented in any municipal or legislative assembly—there was no bar, bench, senate, corporation, art, science, or literature, by which men could rise to eminence and power. Capital had nowhere been concentrated upon great commercial or manufacturing establishments. There were, in short, no great men but the military servants of government; and all the servants of government held their posts at the will and pleasure of their sovereign.* If a man

* In Rome, as in Egypt and India, many of the great works which, in modern nations, form the basis of gradations of rank in society, were executed by government out of public revenue or by individuals gratuitously for the benefit of the public; for instance, roads, canals, aqueducts, bridges, &c., from which no one derived an income, though all derived benefit. There was no capital invested with a view to profit in machinery, railroads, canals, steam-engines, and other great works which, in the preparation and distribution of man's enjoyments, save the labour of so many millions to the nations of modern Europe and America,

was appointed by the Emperor to the command of five thousand, the whole of this five thousand de-

and supply the incomes of many of the most useful and most enlightened members of their middle and higher classes of society. During the republic, and under the first emperors, the laws were simple, and few derived any considerable income from explaining them. Still fewer derived their incomes from expounding the religion of the people till the establishment of Christianity. Man was the principal machine in which property was invested with a view to profit, and the concentration of capital in hordes of slaves, and the farm of the public revenues of conquered provinces and tributary states, were with the land the great basis of the aristocracies of Rome, and the Roman world generally. The senatorial and equestrian orders were supported chiefly by lending out their slaves as gladiators and artificers, and by farming the revenues, and lending money to the oppressed subjects of the provinces, and to vanquished princes, at an exorbitant interest, to enable them to pay what the state or its public officers demanded. The slaves throughout the Roman empire were about equal in number to the free population, and they were for the most part concentrated in the hands of the members of the upper and middle classes, who derived their incomes from lending and employing them. They were to those classes in the old world, what canals, railroads, steam-engines, &c., are to those of modern days. Some Roman citizens had as many as five thousand slaves educated to the one occupation of gladiators for the public shows of Rome. Julius Cæsar had this number in Italy waiting his return from Gaul; and Gordianus used commonly to give five hundred pair for a public festival, and never less than one hundred and fifty.

In India, slavery is happily but little known; the church had no hierarchy either among the Hindoos or Mahomedans; nor had the law any high interpreters. In all its civil branches of marriage, inheritance, succession, and contract, it was to the

pended entirely on his favour for their employment; and upon their employment for their subsistence, whether paid from the imperial treasury, or by an assignment of land in some distant province. In our armies there is a regular gradation of rank; and every officer feels that he holds his commission by a tenure as high in origin, as secure in possession, and as independent in its exercise, as that of the general who commands; and the soldiers all know and feel, that the places of those officers who are killed or disabled in action, will be immediately filled by those next in rank, who are equally trained to command, and whose authority no one will dispute. In the Mahomedan armies there was no such gradation

[illegible]

of rank. Every man held his office at the will of the chief whom he followed; and he was every moment made to feel, that all his hopes of advancement must depend upon his pleasure. The relation between them was that of patron and client—the client felt bound to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his patron, whatever they might be; and the patron, in like manner, felt bound to protect and promote the interests of his client, as long as he continued to do so. As often as the patron changed sides in a civil war, his clients all blindly followed him; and when he was killed, they instantly dispersed to serve under any other leader whom they might find willing to take their services on the same terms.

The Hindoo chiefs of the military class had hereditary territorial possessions; and the greater part of these possessions were commonly distributed on conditions of military service, among their followers, who were all of the same clan. But the highest Mahomedan officers of the empire had not an acre more of land than they required for their dwelling-houses, gardens, and cemeteries. They had nothing but their office to depend upon; and were always naturally anxious to hold it under the *strongest* side in any competition for dominion. When the star of the competitor under whom they served seemed to be on the wane, they soon found some plausible excuse to make their peace with his rival, and serve under his banners. Each competitor fought for his

own life and those of his children; the imperial throne could be filled by only one man; and that man dared not leave one single brother alive. His father had taken good care to dispose of all his own brothers and nephews in the last contest. The subsistence of the highest as well as that of the lowest officer in the army depended upon their employment in the public service; and all such employments would be given to those who served the victor in the struggle. Under such circumstances one is rather surprised that the history of civil wars in India exhibits so many instances of fidelity and devotion.

The mass of the people stood aloof in such contests without any feeling of interest, save the dread that their homes might become the seat of the war, or the track of armies which were alike destructive to the people in their course, whatever side they might follow. The result could have no effect upon their laws and institutions; and little upon their industry and property. As ships are from necessity formed to weather the storm to which they are constantly liable at sea, so were the Indian village communities framed to weather those of invasion and civil war, to which they were so much accustomed by land; and in the course of a year or two no traces were found of ravages that one might have supposed it would have taken ages to recover from. The lands remained the same, and their fertility was improved by the fallow; every man carried away with him the implements of his trade, and brought them

back with him when he returned; and the industry of every village supplied every necessary article that the community required for their food, clothing, furniture, and accommodation. Each of these little communities, when left unmolested, was in itself sufficient to secure the rights and enforce the duties of all the different members; and all they wanted from their government was, moderation in the land taxes, and protection from external violence. Arrian says, "If any intestine war happens to break forth among the Indians, it is deemed a heinous crime either to seize the husbandmen or spoil their harvest. All the rest wage war against each other, and kill and slay as they think convenient, while they live quietly and peaceably among them, and employ themselves at their rural affairs either in their fields or vineyards."* I am afraid armies were not much more disposed to forbearance in the days of Alexander than at present, and that his followers must have supposed they remained untouched, merely because they heard of their sudden rise again from their ruins by that spirit of moral and political vitality with which necessity seems to have endowed them.

* Diodorus Siculus has the same observation. "No enemy ever does any prejudice to the husbandmen; but out of a due regard to the common good, forbear to injure them in the least degree; and therefore the land being never spoiled or wasted, yields its fruit in great abundance, and furnishes the inhabitants with plenty of victuals and all other provisions." Book ii. chap. 3.

During the early part of his life and reign, Ourungzebe was employed in conquering and destroying the two independent kingdoms of Golconda and Beejapore in the Deccan, which he formed into two provinces governed by viceroys. Each had had an army of above a hundred thousand men while independent. The officers and soldiers of these armies had nothing but their courage and their swords to depend upon for their subsistence. Finding no longer any employment under settled and legitimate authority, in defending the life, property, and independence of the people, they were obliged to seek it around the standards of lawless freebooters; and upon the ruins of these independent kingdoms and their disbanded armies rose the Mahratta power, the hydra-headed monster which Ourungzebe thus created by his ambition, and spent the last twenty years of his life in vain attempts to crush. The monster has been since crushed by being deprived of its Peshwa, the head which alone could infuse into all the members of the confederacy a feeling of nationality, and direct all their efforts when required to one common object. Scindeea, the chief of Gwalior, is one of the surviving members of this great confederacy—the rest are the Holcars of Indore, the Ghoslas of Nagpore, and the Gykwars of Barodah, the grandchildren of the commandants of predatory armies, who formed capital cities out of their standing camps in the countries they invaded and conquered in the name of their head, the Satarah Rajah, and

afterwards in that of his mayor of the palace, the Peshwa. There is not now the slightest feeling of nationality left among the Mahratta states either collectively or individually. There is not the slightest feeling of sympathy between the mass of the people, and the chief who rules over them, and his public establishments. To maintain these public establishments, he everywhere plunders the people, who most heartily detest him and them. These public establishments are composed of men of all religions and sects, gathered from all quarters of India, and bound together by no common feeling save the hope of plunder and promotion. Not one in ten is from, or has his family in, the country where he serves, nor is one in ten of the same clan with his chief. Not one of them has any hope of a provision either for himself, when disabled from wounds or old age, from serving his chief any longer, or for his family, should he lose his life in his service.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE GREAT DIAMOND OF KOHINOOR.

THE foregoing historical episode occupies too large a space in what might otherwise be termed a personal narrative; but still I am tempted to append to it a sketch of the fortunes of that famous diamond, called with oriental extravagance, the Mountain of Light, which, by exciting the cupidity of Shah Jehan, played so important a part in the drama.

After slumbering for the greater part of a century in the imperial treasury, it was afterwards taken by Nadir Shah, the king of Persia, who invaded India under the reign of Mahomed Shah, in the year 1738. Nadir Shah, in one of his mad fits, had put out the eyes of his son Rizakolee Mirza, and when he was assassinated, the conspirators gave the throne and the diamond to this son's son, Shahrookh Mirza, who fixed his residence at Meeshecd. Ahmud Shah, the Abdalee, [illegible] ...ded the Affghan

cavalry in the service of Nadir Shah, and had the charge of the military chest at the time he was put to death. With this chest, he and his cavalry left the camp during the disorders that followed the murder of the king, and returned with all haste to Candahar, where they met Turiekee Khan on his way to Nadir Shah's camp with the tribute of the five provinces which he had retained of his Indian conquests, Candahar, Cabul, Tatta, Bukkur, Moultan, and Peshawar. They gave him the first news of the death of the king, seized upon his treasure, and, with the aid of this and the military chest, Ahmud Shah took possession of these five provinces, and formed them into the little independent kingdom of Affghanistan, over which he long reigned, and from which he occasionally invaded India and Khorassan.

Shahrookh Mirza had his eyes put out some time after by a faction. Ahmud Shah marched to his relief, put the rebels to death, and united his eldest son, Tymoor Shah, in marriage to the daughter of the unfortunate prince, from whom he took the diamond, since it could be of no use to a man who could no longer see its beauties! He established Tymoor as his viceroy at Heerat, and his youngest son at Candahar; and fixed his own residence at Cabul, where he died. He was succeeded by Tymoor Shah, who was succeeded by his eldest son, Zuman Shah, who after a reign of a few years was driven from his throne by his younger brother, Mahmood. He sought an asylum with his friend Asheek, who

commanded a distant fortress, and who betrayed him to the usurper, and put him into confinement. He concealed the great diamond in a crevice in the wall of the room in which he was confined; and the rest of his jewels in a hole made in the ground with his dagger. As soon as Mahmood received intimation of the arrest from Asheek, he sent for his brother, had his eyes put out, and demanded the jewels, but Zuman Shah pretended that he had thrown them into the river as he passed over. Two years after this, the third brother, the Sultan Shoojah, deposed Mahmood, ascended the throne by the consent of his elder brother, and, as a fair specimen of his notions of retributive justice, he blew away from the mouths of cannon, not only Asheek himself, but his wife and all his innocent and unoffending children!

He intended to put out the eyes of his deposed brother Mahmood, but was dissuaded from it by his mother and Zuman Shah, who now pointed out to him the place were he had concealed the great diamond. Mahmood made his escape from prison, raised a party, drove out his brothers, and once more ascended the throne. The two brothers sought an asylum in the Honourable Company's territories; and have from that time resided at an out frontier station of Loodheeana, upon the banks of the Hyphasis, upon a liberal pension assigned for their maintenance by our government. On their way through the territories of the Sikh chief, Runjeet Sing, Shoojah was discovered to have this great diamond, the

mountain of light, about his person; and he was, by a little torture skilfully applied to the mind and body, made to surrender it to his generous host! Mahmood was succeeded in the government of the fortress and province of Heerat by his son Kamran; but the throne of Cabul was seized by the mayor of the palace, who bequeathed it to his son Dost Mahomed, a man, in all the qualities requisite in a sovereign, immeasurably superior to any member of the house of Ahmud Shah Abdalee. Runjeet Sing had wrested from him the province of Peshawar in times of difficulty; and as we would not assist him in recovering it from our old ally, he thought himself justified in seeking the aid of those who would, the Russians and Persians, who were eager to avail themselves of so fair an occasion to establish a footing in India. Such a footing would have been manifestly incompatible with the peace and security of our dominions in India, and we were obliged, in self defence, to give to Shoojah the aid which he had so often before in vain solicited, to enable him to recover the throne of his very limited number of legal ancestors.

In India, there are a great many native chiefs who were enabled, during the disorders which attended the decline and fall of the Mahomedan power and the rise and progress of the Mahrattas and English, to raise and maintain armies by the plunder of their neighbours. The paramount power of the British being now securely established throughout the

country, they are prevented from indulging any longer in such sporting propensities; and might employ their vast revenues in securing the blessing of good civil government for the territories, in the possession of which they are secured by our military establishments. But these chiefs are not much disposed to convert their swords into ploughshares; they continue to spend their revenues in the maintenance of useless military establishments for purposes of parade and show. A native prince would, they say, be as insignificant without an army as a native gentlemen upon an elephant without a cavalcade, or upon a horse without a tail! But the said army have learnt from their forefathers, that they were to look to aggressions upon their neighbours—to pillage, plunder, and conquest, for wealth and promotion; and they continue to prevent their prince from indulging in any disposition to turn his attention to the duties of civil government. They all live in the hope of some disaster to the paramount power which secures the increasing wealth of the surrounding countries from their grasp; and threatened innovations from the north-west raise their spirits and hopes in proportion as they depress those of the classes engaged in all branches of peaceful industry.

There are, in all parts of India, thousands and tens of thousands who have lived by the sword, or who wish to live by the sword, but cannot find employment suited to their tastes. These would all flock

to the standard of the first lawless chief who could offer them a fair prospect of plunder; and to them all wars and rumours of wars are delightful. The moment they hear of a threatened invasion from the north-west, they whet their swords, and look fiercely around upon those from whose breasts they are "to cut their pound of flesh."*

* The above history of the Kohinoor may, I believe, be relied upon. I received a narrative of it from Shah Zuman, the blind old king himself, through General Smith, who commanded the troops at Loodhecana; forming a detail of the several revolutions too long and too full of new names for insertion here.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY G. J. PALMER, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

